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## POLIS AND IDIA IN PERICLEAN ATHENS

### THE RELATION BETWEEN PUBLIC SERVICE AND PRIVATE ACTIVITIES<sup>1</sup>

DEMOSTHENES ascribed the triumphs of Periclean Athens to the wholeheartedness with which its citizens responded to the calls of their country: rich and poor alike held their lives and property not as their own but in trust for the state, which in turn was simply the reflex of their will. Their will to serve was steeled in the fire of devotion to their fatherland. All classes and ages alike were lovers of the "divine city". The warriors of Marathon and their children and their children's children were great because they willed strongly and unquestioningly to do great things.

Viewing the achievements of imperial Athens in the longer retrospect of our own time and, accordingly, subordinating exploits in war on sea and land to the more enduring achievements in art, letters, and ideas, modern historians, while accepting gratefully Demosthenes's testimony as to the marvelous spirit of self-sacrifice of his ancestors, are compelled to probe more deeply and to widen their field of vision. The moment they bring Sparta into the picture the inadequacy of Demosthenes's ideology becomes apparent. The Spartans displayed an even stronger and more universal readiness to devote themselves to the commonwealth than did the Athenians, yet they have nothing to show for it remotely comparable to the contribution of Athens to the world's culture.

Under the guidance of scholars like Grote, Wilamowitz, Beloch, Meyer, De Sanctis, and Jaeger, we have come to see what Athens owed to its great statesmen—to Solon thanks to whom it lacked helots, to Cleisthenes thanks to whom it lacked *perioeci*, to Themistocles but for whom it might have perished in its youth, to Pericles but for whom it might have disintegrated prematurely; what it owed to its aristocratic

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Washington on December 28, 1939.

tradition, which, divorced from blood, provided an ideal of personal culture for the many and, as interpreted by great poet-teachers who lived imaginatively in the heroic age, realistically each in his own time (Homer, Solon, Aeschylus, Sophocles), elevated the mind of the nation and gave vitality and intellectual substance to religious problems, practices, and beliefs; what it owed to dominion of the seas and empire, in stimulus to "enterprises of great pitch and moment", in multiplication of contacts with men of other lands and cultures, in increase of revenue, goods, and man power; and finally what it owed to the completeness of its democracy. For five generations, despite temporary reactions, Athens followed a political course which led to democracy. The equality of all the freeborn natives of Attica under the law was recognized early, but a long time elapsed before its implications were fully perceived. After partial removals, successively made, of checks on the popular power, the capacity of citizens for self-government was periodically appraised. The broadening of civic privileges and civic responsibilities, of political education and political activity, went hand in hand. By positive legislation the state was reordered to enable the *demos* to act effectively. It divested itself of purely local affairs by transferring them to municipalities organized for the purpose, and it applied the representative idea to link outlying and urban populations in a central bicameral deliberative body. The idea that one citizen was as much entitled as another to serve the state administratively became established, and in elections by lot and rotations in office it found powerful sanctions; but economic and geographical disabilities impaired its full realization until Pericles crowned the democratic structure by establishing state indemnities for all kinds of public service, excepting only attendance at the meetings of the ecclesia and the tenure of military commands. Thereafter every mature citizen, poor or rich, urbanite or countryman, could, if he wished, take his turn in judicial, political, and religious administration.

The age of Pericles was an age of idealization, of the state by Thucydides, of its citizens by Pericles, of humanity in the heroic characters of Sophocles, and of the human frame and features in the sculptures of Phidias. As we know, idealization may be revolt against distressful realities; and there were distressful realities in Athens: men were as violent in their hates as in their loves; in war they sometimes executed the innocent to intimidate others; with a Thersites for every Odysseus they resorted to vilification as an addition to, or a substitute for, argument; they laughed at obscenity, and their gods and goddesses laughed with them; they refrained from assassination, but they despoiled

one another of life and property in the courts; they loved liberty for themselves, but they denied it to their subject-allies; they were the schoolmasters of Hellas, but they taught with a rod of iron. Yet for all this, idealization was in Athens rather a reflex of realities than a reaction against them. The typical citizen was a man of many qualities, "capable of adapting himself", as Pericles said, "to the most varied forms of action with the utmost of versatility and grace": he had to be a soldier or a sailor and not in name only; he had to be a politician—even Socrates, who eschewed politics, did not escape being a councilor; he had to be conversant with the laws since every man had to press or defend his own case in court, and in Athens suits flew like hailstones in a storm; he had to be a competent public speaker if he wanted to amount to anything; he had to know the content and style of the great dramas not merely because they were addressed to him but because he was the judge of their merits and a participant in their production. Of the Spartans it may be said: "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." The Athenians prefaced their every important action by collective discussion, and, according to Thucydides, "knowing, not that words and deeds go ill together, but that acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed", they put their lives in jeopardy with minds clear as well as unified.<sup>2</sup>

Their city-state (*polis*) was an all-inclusive society. It was at once a state, a club (for men), and a church—with many cults and much diversified ritual but no clergy (in our sense) and no creed. All that pertained to the *polis* was politics; and it is in this comprehensive sense that this term and its derivative, political, are regularly used in this address. Contrasted with politics were *idia*, the private concerns of the individual. Included in these was household management (economics)—a tiny acorn from which has sprung a mighty oak. It was a commonplace at this time that when the *polis* was prosperous the individual citizen prospered also, and that when it suffered disaster he was ruined. A man's first economic duty was, therefore, to work for the well-being of his *polis*. There can be no gainsaying the fact that Athens expected its citizens to do their primary duty. They were summoned to general assembly weekly; one seventh of them were enrolled as jurors and allotted daily for service as required; they were drafted for the army and the fleet—a goodly number regularly to man the garrisons and patrol squadron, entire age-classes, even all age-classes, as military operations, which

<sup>2</sup> I owe the translations of Thucydides in the main to B. Jowett, A. E. Zimmern, and C. F. Smith.

were conducted for two out of every three years of Pericles's regime, demanded; each of the 170 Attic municipalities (demes) furnished, annually as the lot determined, besides two or three local officials, its numerical proportion of the members of the Council of Five Hundred, which sat in the capital daily; and each of the ten tribes furnished, besides three tribal officials, its quota to the scores of boards of ten, which were filled by annual allotment for national administration. There were as many national holydays as there were days of assembly, and, apart from these occasions of general thanksgiving, or propitiation, and diversion ("relaxations for our weary spirits", Pericles called them), every municipality had its local fetes, and numerous kin-groups with membership widely scattered throughout Attica united on specified days for worship and conviviality. One of the *gene*, of which there were at least fifty, had on its annual calendar eight days for reunion and sacrifice. Add together services, men, and days, and you can gauge the impact of politics on *idia* in Athens.

All this has been said to enable me to ask the question with which this address is primarily concerned: What scope was left for *idia*? A citizen's *idia* embraced two spheres. In the first sphere we may place his personal conduct, which was largely his own affair, regulated mainly by a singularly tolerant public opinion; his private thoughts and feelings, which he might express freely in speech, in verse, in clay, bronze, or marble; and his *techne* or profession, as to which he had freedom of choice and use, as had his children, whose education was wholly his responsibility. In virtue of these liberties each citizen in Athens was said "to live as he himself wished". In them were rooted the independence, diversity, and originality of Athenian culture.

Periclean Athens was emphatically not a totalitarian state. It is the essence of its greatness that it harmonized the self-abnegation judged necessary for political effectiveness with freedom of the human spirit.

In the second sphere of *idia* belongs household management, a name which had once been properly descriptive, but which in the fifth century remained current notwithstanding that in "houses", enlarged by additional workbenches into factories (*ergasteria*), articles were produced for consumption not in the household alone, or even in Athens and Attica alone, but in all parts of the Mediterranean world. Nonetheless economics, as then conceived—as it was conceived by Aristotle—was not political economy. Despite the singular responsiveness of its government to public opinion, the state did little to promote the material welfare of its citizens. It never sought to reserve the home market to its farmers or



industrialists by protective tariffs. It did not subsidize Athenian shipping. No restrictions were placed on the slave trade. It imposed Attic currency, weights, and measures on its subject allies, but in doing so it acted in the interest of international commerce whether this was transacted by citizens or noncitizens. It *did* take measures to assure the arrival in the Peiraeus of public necessities, chiefly foodstuffs, shipbuilding materials, and metals, but it did not care who brought them; and, in fact, resident aliens (metics) and foreigners carried on much of the foreign trade of Athens. Athens practiced laissez-faire in the economic sphere. Even her commercial treaties were concerned not with goods and their exchange but with the laws and procedure by which the rights and claims of traders were defined and settled. The citizens might be an aggregate of businessmen, as are the members of a modern club or congregation, yet, as this analogy shows, the political authorities could function unconcerned with the economic efforts and ambitions of individuals.

It would be absurd to suggest that the Athenians individually were indifferent to business, for there is ample evidence that, unlike the Spartans, they were employed generally in gainful occupations. They had a statute penalizing idleness. "The Athenians", says Thucydides, "are engaged simultaneously in private and public activities while those who give attention chiefly to business have no lack of insight into public affairs. . . . Men who devote themselves exclusively to business are regarded not as staid and solid burgers but as useless members of society." Pericles obtained full liberty for his political career by making no effort to increase his inherited wealth, and Socrates, who inherited little, neglected his profession in the interest of his philosophic mission; but neither was in this respect a representative Athenian.

As farmers, traders, seamen, contractors, manufacturers, artisans, laborers, the Athenians had to work for their living, but they took an amount of time off for public service and, we may add, for talk, sport, and conviviality, which would have wrecked our economic systems. Yet, though they lived in a poor country, inadequately watered, criss-crossed with mountains, redeemed only by a superb harbor and by deposits of pottery clay, marble, and silver, they were reputed a rich and prosperous nation.

The conflict between economics and politics so apparent to us seems not to have presented a problem either to them and their contemporaries or to the next generations of Greeks. The chances are, therefore, that its solution is to be sought in conditions of work and living which we do

not share with them. We therefore proceed to follow this line of inquiry.

They had among their workers resident aliens, but so have we. We, accordingly, pass the metics by. Theirs, however, was a slave society; ours is not. Here is a differential which demands attention. It would, I think, have sufficed to solve the problem for men who thought like John C. Calhoun. Calhoun ignored the poor whites when he contended that slavery was "the best guarantee of equality among the whites"—"the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world". In Periclean Athens the poor man was not a "poor white", and he could not be, and was not, ignored by anybody. A large proportion, probably a majority, of citizens, were nonslaveholders. There were few, if any, plantations in Athens. The Attic farms were normally small holdings, too small to need or permit slave labor. There Adam delved and Eve span, and Adam was an Athenian citizen. He lived, be it observed, not isolated on his land but in Athens itself or in one of the numerous towns or villages of Attica, engrossed in the great society; and when he appeared on the Pnyx he was the shrewd, enterprising, fearless Dikaiopolis who plays the leading role in Aristophanes's *Acharnians*. His fellow worker in trade and industry, and especially the manual laborer, was more vulnerable to slave competition than he was, but the evidence is that he too held his own, probably because of the truth of the Homeric maxim that "the day of slavery takes from a man the half of his virtue". In Athens political equality was maintained despite slavery. The poor were neither socially outcast, politically dumb, nor mentally inert. They got their higher education fundamentally in the service of the state. In this great school for adults all citizens were students, and all students were holders of fellowships. They received from the state the wherewithal to meet their expenses and actualize their constitutional rights; but what of their loss in productive work in shop, factory, shipping, and agriculture?

It may be said that slaves made good this loss, to the profit of their owners; but they could make it good only in the areas of activity in which they were engaged. The strongholds of slave labor in Attica were first, domestic service, where slaves added to the amenities of life of the well-to-do; second, industry, particularly those industries like the manufacture of pottery, arms, and furniture, where the demand was so steady that the proprietors did not have to carry slaves during long periods of unemployment; and third, mining, where, as in large slave-manned industrial establishments, hard, uninterrupted labor was essential. In other words, slave labor in Attica was fitted into an economy

which it did not dominate. It was rather supplementary to than severely competitive with free labor, and its bearing on our problem is that it staffed the menial and other liberty and leisure destroying services which citizens could not perform well or at all because of their political engagements.

Land and climate condition the ways of life of a people. They create a mold in which operations, particularly agricultural operations, are set, and once set, they seem to be as immutable as nature itself. The wineskins, Aristophanes's wineskins, really goatskins turned inside out, their hairy inner surfaces smeared with pine resin—these same wineskins, encountered in two-wheeled rustic carts on Greek roads today, are a symbol of the persistence throughout ages in Attica of agricultural techniques. Land and climate prescribe one regimen to the Attic farmer, ancient and modern, and a very different regimen to the New England farmer; and a comparison of the two will help to explain why the political distractions of the Attic countryman in ancient times were compatible with the work of the Athenian and would be incompatible with the work of the New Englander. The length and severity of our winters, the almost complete absence of precipitation during the Attic summer, and the paucity of cloudless days in the one case and the paucity of cloudy days in the other are perhaps the most agriculturally significant climatic differences.

An Attic *panspermia*, offering of all fruits, consisted of barley meal, olive oil, wine, honey, and cheese. Attic husbandry included beekeeping and herding, but its three staples were grain (mostly barley), wine, and olive oil. Herding was conditioned by the climate, which made stabling, and hence haymaking, superfluous, and by grazing which was suitable for goats and sheep but not for cows and horses. Since the flocks roamed the uncultivable mountain sides, they were unproductive of usable manure. The Attic husbandman was, accordingly, free from many of the tasks which beset and confine the New England farmer—the handling and hauling of manure, the raising and storage of fodder, and what Oliver Herford calls “chambermaiding the barnyard stock”. To make good his shortage of fertilizers the grain farmer had to let his land lie fallow in alternate years, thus reducing his area of tillage by fifty per cent. He had really only two periods when he could work. In October-November after the autumnal rains had softened the parched earth, when he plowed or hoed and sowed, and at harvest time in May-June, when he plied the sickle, bound the sheaves, hauled them to the wind-swept stone-paved threshing floor, winnowed the grain, and carried it to

bins in his house in town or village. His farm ordinarily comprised a vineyard and an olive grove, and his long vacations in winter and summer were shortened by their exigencies. September was the month for the vintage and November the month for picking the olives. In March he sheared his sheep, when he had any, and then too he pruned his vines. But even so, he had little imperative to do for six months (April, July, August, December, January, February) of every twelve, and, what is equally important for our problem, he was not rushed in summer by threat of bad weather or tied to his homestead in winter by ministering to the needs of livestock.

Attic farming was thus a seasonal occupation. So was seafaring. For four months of the year (November to March) the risks of navigation were so great that the Athenians let the sea alone. Then the ships—merchant vessels, fishing boats, and triremes—were docked, and their crews were free to join in the life and activities of the community. War, too, one of the most exigent forms of public service, was in large measure a seasonal occupation. Campaigning on land, a farmer's obligation primarily, was adjusted nicely to the summer periods of agricultural inactivity; but naval operations, a more recent development which involved particularly the seafaring population, had to fall in the navigating season when the rowers might have been gainfully employed.

Work in trade and industry was not seasonal. The shopkeeper had to be at his counter at all times since buyers might arrive at any time, and, since buying was a matter of bargaining and the price of an article was, within limits, what the vendor could get for it, he had to spend much time in chaffering. Success in selling advantageously required knowledge of costs, tact in handling customers, and quick wits—in short vending was an art which yielded best returns when the proprietor was his own clerk. There was an intimate connection in ancient Athens between selling and making, and the maker of vases, kettles, and shoes was often their seller, and industry and trade in specific commodities were regularly concentrated in special quarters, squares, or streets. Articles of industry were all handmade; hence the man who worked by himself was at little or no disadvantage compared to the man who worked in association with others. His tools were more like a carpenter's or plumber's kit than the machinery of a modern factory. His investment in capital was small. Expansion might occur through the entrance of new men into the craft, through the retention of apprentices as partners, or by the purchase of slaves. Day labor was furnished by citizens, metics, and slaves, who, for example, participated in building the

Erechtheion in 409 B.C. in the numbers respectively of 27, 40, and 15. Then contractor, foreman, and workman, citizen, metic, and slave worked side by side and for the same pay.

In summary, we may say that to understand trade and industry in Periclean Athens we must think away the effects of the Industrial Revolution and modern capitalism. Appreciating this differential for our immediate purpose, we perceive that the Athenian shopkeeper, manufacturer, and laborer, unlike the personnel of merchandising and industry today, was commonly his own master and hence was able, if he chose, to respond to the demands of the state, time and energy consuming though they were, without doing irreparable damage to business. An economic society of small entrepreneurs, operating individually and collectively with a negligible overhead, could sustain suspensions of work which another, dominated by great corporations and companies with vast plants, huge stock, planned deliveries, and large aggregates of employees bound in a salary-wage nexus, could not. Nonetheless, the Athenian traders and artisans were so continuously absorbed in their work and in increasing their profits that they frequently forewent their political opportunities. On the occasion of meetings of the general assembly officials rounded the rabble in the market place into the *Pnyx* by means of a rope dripping with red ochre, but this device has sense only as an accelerator of the tardy. The shopkeeper and the artisan could easily dodge into their places of business if they were so minded. In fact, their class fell behind the rest so markedly in political education, a by-product of public service, that it could be and was seriously maintained (mainly by oligarchs and oligarchic political philosophers) that it ought not to have the citizenship at all; and to it particularly was applied the opprobrious epithet *banausoi*, in undergraduate parlance, "greasy grinds".

Athenian economy, thus conditioned by slavery, land, and climate and by contemporary practices in making and exchanging goods, was flexible enough to bear the brunt of a polity in which each and every citizen was expected to be an active partner. It seems to me that in his time and circumstance the ordinary Athenian was not a bad businessman: he tilled land which is uncultivated today, and without his intelligent effort Athens could not have become, as it did, the chief emporium of the Eastern Mediterranean; but his whole heart was not in money-making; and when he acquired wealth, the social climate in which he lived favored his spending it "not", to quote Thucydides, "for ostentation but where there was real need for it". Love of honor was a

stronger motive than love of ease and luxury. "For the love of honor alone", to quote Thucydides again, "is not staled by age, and it is by honor, not as some say, by gold, that the helpless end of life is cheered." There were many ways of attaining high distinction in Athens, but they led not through the market place but through the arenas of civic and military struggle. Periclean Athens equipped what we may call the citizens' religious-social-political club with structures of great solidity and beauty but left, it seems, the residential districts of the city as they had been—as they arose higgledy-piggledy on the ashes of the Persian conflagration. Politics not only diminished economic effort; its ideal of equality encouraged simplicity of dress, table, and housing. Judged not by contemporary but by Hellenistic, Roman, or modern standards, the Periclean Athenians produced a low material civilization. But the way in which "their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives" is (to complete a quotation from Thucydides by another from F. C. Burkitt) "a protest against the modern view that the really important thing is to be comfortable".

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## SUMMONING AND DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT, 1603-25

### THE COUNCIL'S ADVICE TO JAMES I<sup>1</sup>

PARLIAMENT in the early Stuart period was an established institution, and its right to participate in the counsels of the nation was an accepted fact. For the crown to interrupt its proceedings by abrupt dissolutions or to allow long periods to elapse without calling it into existence was a confession that things were amiss and an invitation to popular discontent. The hostility between king and parliament which broke out with sudden sharpness under James and reached a high pitch of intensity in the early years of the reign of Charles produced angry dissolutions and long interparliamentary periods. The resulting loss of popularity was so great that Clarendon could find no more probable cause of the civil wars than the "unseasonable, unskillful, and precipitate dissolution of parliaments". As early as 1613 Bacon warned the king: "I, for my part, think it a thing inestimable to your Majesty's safety and service, that you once part with your Parliament with love and reverence."<sup>2</sup> So large do these dissolutions bulk in the thought of the time that it is worth while to consider more closely than has been done hitherto the responsibility for them and the nature of the advice offered to the crown upon summoning and dissolving parliament.<sup>3</sup>

The obvious adviser of the crown in these matters was the privy council. Its advice to James was sound. Its judgment was surprisingly constant that parliaments were essential and must be conciliated, summoned frequently, and not dissolved in anger. The council was thus a sane and moderating influence in the relations of crown and parliament. Most unfortunately James surrounded himself with individuals who counseled quite differently, and he allowed their whispered insinuations to outweigh the advice of his councilors. His petulant

<sup>1</sup> Most of the material in this article was collected while the author was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council, to which he wishes to express his indebtedness.

<sup>2</sup> Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray (6 vols., Oxford, 1888), I, 5; James Spedding, *Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon* (London, 1861-74), IV, 371. See also John Hackett, *A Memorial of John Williams* (2 pts. in 1 vol., London, 1693), I, 48, 81.

<sup>3</sup> The subject is treated by S. R. Gardiner in scattered paragraphs of his *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, which formed a starting point for this inquiry. Citations refer to the 1883-84 edition.



irascibility in dealing with the commons could easily be goaded into acts of violence and folly; and decisions concerning parliament, which were questions of high policy, easily became the subject of intrigue and bedchamber influence. As the reign advanced, the opinion of the council carried less and less weight; its independence was crushed; and personal government by the king and Buckingham took the place of government by the advice of a council. The council's decreasing influence over parliamentary affairs is but a measure of its decline as an instrument of government.

For the first few years of the reign James left parliamentary affairs pretty much in the hands of the council, or rather in the hands of his chief councilor, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. Salisbury's position resembled that of a prime minister, responsible alike for administration and legislation; and other councilors followed his lead. He largely determined prorogations and adjournments during James's first parliament, which continued in five sessions from 1604 to 1611. He consulted with the king and with his more important colleagues and laid his plans before the council, seeking its advice. At times the king consulted directly with the council. In the summer of 1604 James jotted down a memorandum before a meeting of the council: "Whether the Parliament shall hold at the prefixed time or not and all the considerations on both sides to be well weighed."<sup>4</sup> But probably a much truer picture is obtained when Salisbury in the summer of 1605 assumed responsibility for a short prorogation. He consulted with Ellesmere, the chancellor, and Dorset, the treasurer, who agreed that the step was a wise one. Salisbury then wrote the council: "Having fallen into consideration what causes are like to come in question this parliament on the King's behalf, and with what mind it is like the house will come prepared, I have presumed to move his Majesty, wherein divers of my Lords have joined with me, to be pleased to give the same some prorogation." Salisbury explained his reasons and asked the council's approbation; but it was approbation of a step already taken.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, XVI, ed. by M. S. Giuseppi (London, 1933), 398.

<sup>5</sup> Ellesmere to Salisbury, July 30, Aug. 1, 1605 (two letters), Hatfield House MSS., Public Record Office; Salisbury to the council, 1605, *Cal. MSS., Hatfield House*, XVI, 425. The gunpowder plot caused a further prorogation from November to January, but James wrote Salisbury to take "care that all things may be so used as the parliament may receive no new prorogation" (Salisbury to Mr. Faunt, Dec. 4, 1605, Hatfield House MSS.). Adjournments were also in Salisbury's hands. In the autumn of 1610, when James was away from London, Salisbury was given an undated warrant to the speaker to adjourn the

Salisbury did not relish meetings of the commons. He hoped the session of 1606 would conclude sufficient business "to deferr any of those assemblies for some good space".<sup>6</sup> There was no session between 1607 and 1610. But as 1610 approached, when the subsidies voted in 1606 would all have been collected, Salisbury urged upon James the necessity of another meeting of the commons. He wrote the king a long memorial, basing his argument largely upon the financial needs of the crown. He made the interesting point that a sovereign should not stretch his prerogative too far in forcing money from his subjects, as in the impositions of 1608. It was now time, he argued, to seek revenue through the ordinary means of a parliamentary grant.<sup>7</sup>

Salisbury and the council lost control of parliamentary policy in the autumn of 1610. James's irritation with the commons had been rising steadily since the beginning of the session, and by December he was determined to dissolve whether the council approved or not. About the middle of November, after the Great Contract had been abandoned as hopeless, the council had debated a dissolution, but no resolution had been taken, Salisbury counseling patience. Soon afterwards James left London for Royston, where he remained during the rest of the session. He grew more and more angry at every report of the doings of the commons. Lake wrote Salisbury on November 25: "His Highness wisheth your Lordship to call to mind that he hath now had patience with this assembly these seven years, and from them received more disgraces, censures, and ignomies, than ever Prince did endure. He followeth your Lordships's advices in having patience, hoping for better issue. He cannot have asinine patience, he is not made of that metal that is ever to be held in suspence and to receive nothing but stripes, neither doth he conceive that your Lordships are so insensible of those

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house (Lake to Salisbury, Nov. 23, 1610, State Papers, Domestic, 14/58: 31, P. R. O.). In March, 1607, Salisbury, not wishing to use the king's name, forced an adjournment by instructing the speaker to exaggerate a slight illness and remain away from parliament for ten days (*ibid.*, 14/26: 91).

<sup>6</sup> Salisbury to Cornwallis, Sept. 12, 1605, in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (3 vols., London, 1725), II, 132. Salisbury, however, did not wish to dissolve. It was good tactics not to do so. A member of the commons named Tate wrote in Elizabeth's reign that "to have a Parliament least offensive" it was best "to hold it upon Prorogation, without dissolution". An election was costly in new fees and wasted time in formalities at the first of the session. Moreover, "new men . . . are commonlie most Adventerous, and canne be gladdest of longe Parleamentes to learne and see fashions where the olde contineurers have amonge other thinges learned more advisedness". British Museum, Harleian MSS., 253, f. 32.

<sup>7</sup> British Museum, Additional MSS., 22591, ff. 191<sup>v</sup>-213.

indignities, as that you can advise any longer endurance.”<sup>8</sup> A few days later James wrote more savagely that “no house save the house of Hell” could have treated him as the commons had been doing.<sup>9</sup>

Salisbury, meanwhile, sometimes acting alone, often consulting the council, struggled to extract some equitable compromise from the commons, to moderate the rash and headstrong attitude of James, above all to compose the bitterness on both sides and to prevent a rupture. When a forlorn hope arose of an agreement on one portion of the Contract, Lake was sent posthaste to the king with proposals. But James received them very coldly. “He must deal warily”, he said, “with a multitude from whom he had received so little comfort.” He set his price very high and suggested a peremptory message to inform the commons that they were about to be dissolved and that he must know their terms in more detail. Salisbury managed to evade this highly impolitic suggestion. Both Lake and Salisbury protested against James’s wish to try conclusions with the commons by forcing a vote on supply whether or not it had any hope of success, and Lake persuaded James to send his proposal to Salisbury as a suggestion and not as a command. Salisbury adjourned parliament for five days (November 24 to 29) to prevent angry speeches that would exacerbate feeling and advised a further adjournment from November 29 in order that the commons might have time for reflection and “his Majesties Party” might “deal every man with his friend and acquaintance of the House, to work them to some better Reason”.<sup>10</sup> But James ordered a prorogation for a month or more, the date to be fixed by the council. This ended any immediate hope of compromise and looked directly towards a dissolution.<sup>11</sup>

During the last week in November, when the issue hung in the balance, councilors urged James to come to London for a consultation on parliamentary affairs. But James saw no necessity for a meeting unless he could be certain that matters in parliament would mend, and he asked what assurances Salisbury could give. Otherwise a consultation would merely impose unpleasant journeyings and “vexation of

<sup>8</sup> St. P., Domestic, 14/58: 35. This letter, though written to Salisbury, was really addressed to the council. The same is true of other letters from James. Lake was the king’s secretary of the Latin tongue and often wrote letters for him. He was not a councilor until 1614.

<sup>9</sup> James to the council, Dec. 7, 1610, Hatfield House MSS. See also Lake to Salisbury, Northampton, Suffolk, and Worcester, Nov. 21, 1610, St. P., Domestic, 14/58: 26.

<sup>10</sup> John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, Dec. 1, 1610, Winwood, III, 235-36.

<sup>11</sup> Lake to Salisbury, Northampton, Suffolk, and Worcester, Nov. 21, 23, Lake to Salisbury, Nov. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, Dec. 2, 1610, St. P., Domestic, 14/58: 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 40, 41, 54.

spirit" on all concerned. There was now nothing left to decide but how parliament could be dissolved quietly and "with fairest show". Salisbury then urged a meeting upon the form of the dissolution if on nothing more, but James replied that the prorogation would give ample time for leisurely debate.<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to excuse James for staying in the country during these critical days. Affairs had become complicated and delicate, correspondence extremely difficult, and misunderstanding extremely easy. Away from London in the company of Sir Robert Carr, who desired a dissolution, James saw only his own side of the quarrel and made Salisbury's task an impossible one.

On one point the council had its way. James wished to punish some members for their speeches, but the council prevented this. When James instructed councilors to investigate a speech comparing him with King Joram of evil memory, he found to his disgust that the council's report "qualified and moderated" the speech "as much as might be". He was given many reasons why he should not punish members. Councilors maintained that they had no evidence but hearsay, that they could hardly act both as accusers and judges, that the speeches could probably be interpreted quite innocently by their authors, that punishment could not be more than mere commitment, and that "it would raise much malice". James answered these arguments fully and heatedly. If Elizabeth had been able to punish members, why was he not able to do so? But he cooled down in a few days. "I think he will desist", wrote Lake on December 6.<sup>13</sup>

There was more behind James's wish to punish members than at first appeared. He was particularly incensed by a rumor that the commons were about to petition him to send the Scots back to their own country. Lake attempted to pacify him but discovered, as he wrote to Salisbury in great secrecy and perturbation, "that all this heat expressed in my last two letters is moved by Sir Robert Carr; that your Lordship has been very maliciously dealt with by some of the Lower House, he being the instrument; that the intent of pressing your Lordship and my Lords to discover these names and matter is urged by him out of a purpose to cast some distaste between your Lordships and the King".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Lake to Salisbury, Nov. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, St. P., Domestic, 14/58: 32, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41.

<sup>13</sup> Lake to Salisbury, Nov. 25, 27, Dec. 2, 6, St. P., Domestic, 14/58: 35, 40, 54, 62. Salisbury to James, Dec. 3, Lake to Salisbury, Dec. 3, 4, James to the council, Dec. 7, 1610, Hatfield House MSS.

<sup>14</sup> Lake to Salisbury, Dec. 4, 1610, Hatfield House MSS. See also a letter of James to Salisbury, Dec. 6, 1610. Lake tried in vain to dissuade James from insisting on an investi-

Alarmed at the anti-Scottish feeling in parliament, Carr was fanning James's anger against the commons. He apparently had his own agents in the house and may well have urged them, as Northampton did in 1614, to bring up delicate points so as to anger the king and break the parliament.<sup>15</sup> And he sought to sow dissension between king and council. James preferred the advice of a raw Scotch youth to that of his council and allowed himself to be duped and victimized for a favorite's advantage.

He turned sharply upon Salisbury and other councilors who had been pleading for a more patient and cautious policy. "Your greatest error hath been", he wrote Salisbury, "that ye ever expected to draw honey out of gall, being a little blinded with the self-love of your own counsel in holding together of this Parliament, whereof all men were despaired as I have oft told you, but yourself alone." And he interpreted the moderation of his councilors in the house as laxness in defending his honor. About the middle of January, "uppon a long deliberation of Councell the King being present, the resolution of the dissolving of the Parliament was taken".<sup>16</sup> Thus the king's pleasure was formally confirmed.

The quarrel with the commons in 1610 left a deep impression upon James's mind. His early irritation with parliament hardened into distrust and hostility. Already there were rumors that he would never summon it again.<sup>17</sup> Thus early in the reign the occasional use of parliament ceased to be an accepted policy of the crown and became instead a matter of controversy and debate; henceforth James had to be persuaded and coaxed into calling the commons together.

Other changes came rapidly after Salisbury's death in 1612. New opinions and influences which he had suppressed or excluded quickly

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gation. He told James that if he "pressed Councillors to discover those by whom they received intelligence, they should be able to do him no more service in that kind". Lake begged the king to wait until he saw Salisbury, who doubtless had "many secret informations and many observations of the disposition of the house" of which he did not write. Lake to Salisbury, Dec. 3, 1610, Hatfield House MSS.

<sup>15</sup> Bacon believed opposition in 1610 was due in part to intrigues or "infusions" among members of the commons by important persons. Spedding, IV, 366, 368, 371. Bacon had Salisbury in mind: "I cannot excuse him that is gone of an artificial animating of the Negative." But this seems impossible; Carr was a much more likely person for such intrigues.

<sup>16</sup> James to Salisbury, Dec. 6, James to the council, Dec. 7, 1610, Hatfield House MSS.; Earl of Pembroke to Sir Thomas Edmondes, Jan. 17, 1611, Brit. Museum, Stowe MSS., 171, f. 358.

<sup>17</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1864 ff.), 1610-1613, p. 100.

emerged, and we enter a new phase of the subject. The advice of the council continued to be sound and moderate and might well have been adopted, but though James frequently asked its opinion he seldom followed it. The council, moreover, was now divided against itself. There appeared a small but highly influential group of councilors with Spanish and pro-Catholic sympathies who regarded parliament with the deepest aversion. The mainspring of the Spanish faction was the Earl of Northampton.<sup>18</sup> He was supported by the other Howards—Suffolk and Nottingham—and their dependents and by the favorite, Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. These men were but a fraction of the council and were outvoted there, but they had the aid of Sarmiento (later Count Gondomar) and could rely upon James's obsession for a Spanish marriage alliance. The anti-Spanish group of councilors, led by Abbot, Pembroke, Ellesmere, and later the two secretaries, Winwood and Naunton, desired parliament to meet. The struggle of these groups dominated English politics for many years.

Many influences were brought to bear upon the king which led to his decision to call the parliament of 1614. The council advised its meeting. At least twice in 1613 the question of a parliament had been raised in the council, but no decision had been taken, once because the councilors were expecting a report from the commissioners of the treasury and once because of Northampton's opposition.<sup>19</sup> In February, 1614, James asked the council for its formal opinion.<sup>20</sup> The council replied:

According to your directions we have mette three severall days and spent much time in debating the business commended unto us, touching the holding of a Parliament. The first day was spent in debating the reasons pro and contra, each man expressing out his duty, understanding, and affecting, [as] he thought in this case most fit to be considered of. In the second day we ran over such Presidents, as well of grievances as of desires, as seemed to affect the Lower House at their last breaking up, being very careful of the better encouragement of their affections at this time to cull out such particularities as without any great offense or prejudice to your Majesties prerogative

<sup>18</sup> See Sarmiento to Philip III, Oct. 17, 1614, Spanish Transcripts, 12/35, P. R. O.

<sup>19</sup> Northampton to Sir Thomas Lake, July 4, 1613, St. P., Domestic, 14/74: 23; "Account of the English Court by the Spanish Ambassador, 1613", Sir John Digby to the king, Sept. 22, 1613, State Papers, Spanish, 94/20, P. R. O.

<sup>20</sup> Sarmiento wrote that on February 6 James told the council of recent developments in the French marriage negotiations and "asked if it would be convenient to convoke parliament for this. It is thought they answered in the affirmative. The king returned to Royston and the council has met together to-day to reconsider the affair." Sarmiento to Philip III, Feb. 7, 1614, Spanish Trans., 12/35. Chamberlain wrote Carleton (February 10) that James had departed for the country and "left the [par]lement to be debated and resolved on by the co[uncil] (which they say goes forward)". St. P., Domestic, 14/76: 20.

might yield them satisfaction to their own desires. . . . The third day we all came to deliver our voices clearly with our reasons Seriatim, wherein, though every man was led by his own motive, and we all saw great difficulties that might perplex the point: Yet in the end, upon those grounds of hope, which we received from your Majesties own mouth before your departure hence, and the consideration of your present and pressing necessities, we were rather inclined to the parliament.<sup>21</sup>

This was not enthusiastic advice. But it was a considered opinion and represented a triumph over Northampton and his followers.<sup>22</sup>

The opposition of the Spanish faction had been constant. In conversation with Sir Henry Neville in 1612 James had explained "the reasons why divers dissuaded a parliament", which, Neville later told the commons, had made him "tremble to think that any should thus breed a dislike" between king and people.<sup>23</sup> Northampton had written with satisfaction that the discussion of a parliament had been postponed in the summer of 1613. In September of the same year Sarmiento wrote:

The king consulting some days past with some of his council, whether it would be fit for him to call a parliament, and to present unto them his necessities and to demand relief, I am told that the Earl of Northampton said unto him, that he should in no case call together and join his enemies; for such were those of the parliament, that would do nothing which he desired, as he had seen by experience. And that he knew that they did already censure and murmur at his actions. . . . The king heard him with much attention, and afterwards calling him aside told him he had spoken with much freeness, but with as much truth.<sup>24</sup>

Northampton seldom spoke with such boldness as this. His practice was rather to raise quiet objections in the council and to insinuate his disapproval to the king. In the debate of February, 1614, he had

<sup>21</sup> The council to the king, Feb. 16, 1614, St. P., Domestic, 14/76: 22. Northampton wrote as if the council were even more doubtful. "To be playne with your Lordship, so many difficulties arise upon the contemplation of this subject as if thear were possibility of repaying or supporting the king's estate by any other means, the greater part of us would hold this time worse fitted and the means less prepared than we could wish. . . . But necessity . . . will perhaps draw us to adventure rather than to suffer." Northampton to Somerset, Feb., 1614, Brit. Museum, Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, f. 329.

<sup>22</sup> "There was much ado and great dispute before a parliament could be procured, and the contrary part, to make good their opinion, [later] sought by all means to embroil it and bring it to nothing." Chamberlain to Carleton, June 30, 1614, in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ed. by Robert F. Williams (2 vols., London, 1849), I, 326.

<sup>23</sup> May 14, 1614, *Commons Journal*, I, 485.

<sup>24</sup> Northampton to Sir Thomas Lake, July 4, 1613, St. P., Domestic, 14/74: 23; "Account of the English Court", Sept. 22, 1613, St. P., Spanish, 94/20.



taken the stand that a "well affected" parliament was desirable but cast doubts upon the possibility of obtaining one.<sup>25</sup>

The majority of councilors, however, had taken an opposite view. Pembroke, always "the mortal enemy of Spain", ardently desired parliament to meet and welcomed a plan of Sir Henry Neville to promote better relations with the commons. Abbot was so anti-Spanish that he desired war with that country. These men were supported by Ellesmere. Other councilors, including the Scottish members Lennox and Hay, wished a French rather than a Spanish marriage, and parliament would be a step towards the one and away from the other.<sup>26</sup> Councilors might not be in love with parliament, but they knew that it was essential and that a Catholic and Spanish policy ran directly counter to the will of the people. Above all, financial necessity had driven the councilors to advise a meeting of the commons.

James had been moved in the same direction by the advice of Sir Henry Neville and Sir Francis Bacon, neither of them councilors. Their arguments are important because they held out to James the hope that the commons, if summoned, would behave themselves and that a reconciliation between king and parliament was not impossible. Neville was a courtier and diplomat who had supported the popular cause in James's first parliament to the injury of his own interests. He now assured the king that the "distaste and acrimony" of the last session could only be removed by another parliament. But he also insisted that another parliament, if properly managed and offered attractive concessions, which he himself outlined, would prove tractable and vote the

<sup>25</sup> Northampton to Somerset, Feb., 1614, Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, ff. 329, 332 (two letters). His arguments may be gathered from one of his papers. "More can not be urged for help then the last Parliament", it begins, "nothing can be added, many motives abated." In 1610 the commons had fully understood the king's needs but "weare not moved" until they were offered concessions. These concessions, if made again, would prove ineffective: the mere fact that they were tendered a second time would diminish their attractiveness; their value, as estimated by the crown in 1610, was now known to have been too high; and threats of extracting increased revenue by pressing the prerogative had "all turned to smoke and nothing". The marriage of James's daughter Elizabeth "upon the purse of the state" could hardly be used as an argument. On the other hand there were new causes of discontent, and promises made in 1610 had been broken. Finally, the "liklyhood of preferement" to certain members who had opposed the government in 1610 "gave great encouragement" to renewed opposition. *Ibid.*, f. 331.

<sup>26</sup> Dispatches of Julian Sancher de Ulloa, Sarmiento's secretary, Apr. 25, July 8, 1619, Spanish Trans., 12/21; Sarmiento to Philip III, Sept. 6, 1613, May 9, 1614, *ibid.*, 12/34 and 35. An anonymous paper concerning this parliament advises a war with Spain as a means "to secure the love and support of the people lost during the last Parliament". Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, f. 353.

king supply. He "had lived and conversed inwardly" with those members who had opposed the crown in 1610, and he would "undertake" for the most of them that, concessions being made, they were now ready to take a different stand.<sup>27</sup> His scheme came to less than nothing, for it involved the government in the disastrous episode of the undertakers. But it helped to persuade the king to summon parliament. James instructed the council to debate Neville's plan and asked the opinion of his legal advisers concerning it.<sup>28</sup> It also tended to mitigate the opposition of the Howards, or at least that of Suffolk and Somerset.<sup>29</sup> Suffolk, indeed, merely hoped to trick Neville into supporting the government whether concessions were made or not, but the Howards faced parliament with more equanimity because of Neville's plan.

Bacon had urged a parliament because not to summon it was a confession of defeat, because he believed that Salisbury had bungled matters badly in 1610, and because it was essential to re-establish cordial relations between king and people. The true success of parliaments was not to be found in their immediate results as much as in the way in which they were handled and in the impressions they left in the minds of the people. James's next parting from parliament must be in "love and reverence". To bring about this result Bacon offered himself as parliamentary manager for the crown; and if anyone could have succeeded, it was he. His advice, in essence, was a return to the Elizabethan tradition. But this, unfortunately, required a monarch of Elizabeth's strength and ability.<sup>30</sup>

For those who sought to reconcile king and commons the parliament of 1614 was a tragic disillusionment. James made no concessions of importance, and the commons grew so violent that they were dissolved in two months' time. Their turbulence was artfully increased by Northampton. Two of his agents, Dr. Lionel Sharp, a clergyman, and Sir Charles Cornwallis, former ambassador in Spain, though not members of parliament, secretly urged certain of the commons to make

<sup>27</sup> St. P., Domestic, 14/74: 44 and 46; Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, ff. 344, 346, 350. See also Gardiner, II, 201-204, and Spedding, IV, 375-78.

<sup>28</sup> The council to the king, Feb. 16, 1614, St. P., Domestic, 14/76: 22; Bacon to Somerset, Feb. 17, 1614, Spedding, V, 13. Either the council or the king's learned counsel drew up a list of bills based in part on Neville's suggestions. See Spedding, V, 14-18.

<sup>29</sup> Neville was in touch with these men as well as with Pembroke. Northampton, on the other hand, said to Suffolk, "My Lord, you incline before the Council too much to these Undertakers." Suffolk to Somerset, end of March, 1614, Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, f. 340 (partly printed in Gardiner, II, 229); "A memorial for my Lord of Rochester", in Neville's hand, 1614, Cottonian MSS., Titus F IV, f. 349.

<sup>30</sup> Spedding, IV, 280, 313, 365-78.

violent speeches and thus anger and intimidate the king. One member, John Hoskyns, was persuaded to hint that a new Sicilian Vespers might take place against the Scots. Later he confessed he had obtained this phrase in material given him by Dr. Sharp, "who had infused these things into him and had solicited him to impress them in the Parliament". Sharp told him that if he got into trouble he would have the protection of Northampton "by the means of Sir Charles Cornwallis" and also, apparently, of Somerset.<sup>31</sup> Hoskyns's speech was at once reported to James as a threat against his life and the lives of his favorites, and in all probability he believed himself in danger of assassination.<sup>32</sup> His anger threw him into the hands of the Spanish party. Three days before the dissolution he "went to consult with the Earl of Northampton on the annoyances he had with parliament", and there can be no doubt of the advice he received. He also took the insane course of asking Sarmiento whether he could rely on the friendship of Spain in case he quarrelled with his own subjects and received comforting if vague assurances which "gave him courage to break with the Puritans".<sup>33</sup>

The anti-Spanish party made a last-minute attempt to avert a complete rupture. Sarmiento wrote that the dissolution had been postponed for a day (June 6 to 7) because Lord Chancellor Ellesmere "endeavored fruitlessly to obtain an amicable agreement with the king".<sup>34</sup> What Ellesmere and Winwood were attempting to do was to persuade the king to prorogue parliament instead of dissolving it and on the other hand to persuade the commons to vote supply in return for the proroga-

<sup>31</sup> Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmund Bacon, June 16, 1614, *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (London, 1685), pp. 434-35. The reference to this, the best account, I owe to Gardiner, who discusses the matter in Volume II, page 250. See also *Court and Times*, I, 325-26. Cornwallis's side of the story, not very convincing, is found in State Papers, Domestic (14/77: 42 and 43). See also Louise Brown Osborn, *The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 37-47.

<sup>32</sup> "It was suggested into his ears, that if the Parliament were not dissolved, they would rip up his life, and the life of his greatest favorites as before they had done the life of the Bishop of Lincoln." Winwood to Carleton, June 16, 1614, State Papers, Venice Correspondence, 99/16, P. R. O.

<sup>33</sup> Sarmiento to Philip III, June 20, 1614, Spanish Trans., 12/35; F. Francisco de Jesus, *The Spanish Marriage Treaty*, ed. by S. R. Gardiner (London, 1869), pp. 286-88. Northampton died within a week of the dissolution. The punishment for his intrigue fell upon others: Sharp, Cornwallis, and Hoskyns were imprisoned, and Somerset broke faith by speaking against Hoskyns instead of in his favor. Lorkin to Puckering, June 18, Chamberlain to Carleton, June 30, 1614, *Court and Times*, I, 324, 326; Osborn, pp. 40 (and n. 30), 75.

<sup>34</sup> Sarmiento to Philip III, June 20, 1614, Spanish Trans., 12/35.

tion. Winwood with his usual candor told the commons on June 6 that James had allowed the dissolution to be postponed for a day, that he was being urged to prorogue, but that there was no hope of the prorogation unless a subsidy was granted. Winwood was backed by conciliatory speeches from other members of the court group. But the commons refused to vote money under threat of a dissolution.<sup>35</sup> In opposing dissolution to the king anti-Spanish councilors found themselves in a very weak position, for they had to confess that the commons had become an angry and unruly mob. Winwood sympathized with many of their aspirations but confessed that he had never seen "so much faction and passion, so little reverence for the Majesty of a king, or so little respect to the public good".<sup>36</sup> And Ellesmere's rigid conservatism regarding the prerogative must have been deeply shocked. How could these men argue effectively against the dissolution or the punishments that followed it?

The struggle of rival factions continued after the dissolution of 1614. Anti-Spanish councilors and the council as a whole became more insistent than ever that a parliament should be called. Twice in 1615 the council forced the possibility of a parliament upon the attention of the king. But James was more adverse than before. If he had had his way, parliaments would have ceased in England. When he told Sarmiento that he wondered how his predecessors had tolerated such an assembly, he was speaking his real mind.<sup>37</sup> The task of the Spanish party was thus comparatively simple, and after abortive moves towards a parliament in September and November, 1615, the possibility of obtaining one drops from sight until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

We are fortunate in possessing a very full account of the discussions in the council in September, 1615. James told his councilors that they must find some way to reduce his expenses, but they pointed out that this would not suffice; "and so it was insinuated unto him, that there was no liklyhood of a perfect subsistance for him, but by a releefe of his people, which must be by parliament". Whereupon, "after some

<sup>35</sup> See a diary for 1614 printed in Wallace Notestein, Frances Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates, 1621* (7 vols., New Haven, 1935), VII, 652-56; *Court and Times*, I, 321; *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (9 vols., London, 1891-1923), IX, 137.

<sup>36</sup> Winwood to Carleton, June 16, 1614, St. P., Venice Correspondence, 99/16.

<sup>37</sup> Gardiner, II, 251. The most James would concede for some years was to say to the council in 1615 that he would not avoid a parliament if he could be assured of comfort from it, yet "he would rather suffer any extremity than have another meeting with his people and take a new scorn". Spedding, V, 195.

little altercation about the difficultes of having a parliament", James directed the council to consider all possible means of providing money without a parliament and, if none could be found, what preparations for parliament "might give hope of good success". The councilors met on September 25 "and were soon agreed with a general consent, that for the payment of his Majestyes debts there was no way that they could think upon, that was honourable and ordinary, but by contribution in parliament". There followed a debate on preparations in which every member except the Howards began his speech by declaring that a parliament was absolutely necessary.<sup>38</sup> Even Sir Thomas Lake took it as "concluded by general consent" that there were no means to help the king without a parliament and said he would prefer a parliament even though other means were available because it would raise James's reputation abroad. Other councilors, one after another, said the same thing. Winwood spoke with great vehemence, and Pembroke with equal firmness. The Howards were more cautious—Nottingham "could not be of other opinion then they who had gone before him", and Suffolk "would not dissent from so many great Counsellors and men of understanding"—and both managed to cast doubts upon the possibility of a successful meeting of the commons.<sup>39</sup>

Thus the advice of the council was clear. Parliament was the only way. The Howards might demur, but the council was overwhelmingly against them. James was not unmoved by this debate and by a somewhat similar one in November.<sup>40</sup> In December Sarmiento wrote that he had "ascertained that the king wished parliament to meet, although it was still kept a profound secret. The archbishop [Abbot] and the secretary [Winwood] had urged him to assemble it, telling him that it would probably give him a grant of money." But private advices were able to outweigh the opinion of the council. Sarmiento wrote a few

<sup>38</sup> When the council reassembled for this debate on preparations some members appeared to think that they were to debate expenditure, possibly a ruse to postpone discussion of parliament. "After some disputation the former resolution [was] confirmed by general consent again, that there was no way of solid relief for his Majesty but by parliament."

<sup>39</sup> Spedding, V, 194-207.

<sup>40</sup> On November 27 the council wrote the king that at a recent meeting concerning his wants, which they "resolved could not be relieved without the help of the people", they had fallen "by way of discourse into mention of a parliament". But many councilors were absent and "yt was unfit for soe weighty a business to be treated (much less resolved on) the board not being full". They understood that James wished them to debate the matter and asked him to set a date when the councilors with him at court might come to London for a full-dress debate. We may assume that this debate took place. The council to the king, Nov. 27, 1615, St. P., Domestic, 14/83: 68.

weeks later that the influence of Abbot and Winwood had not "as yet been sufficient to convoke a parliament". Earlier, in July, 1615, Sarmiento had written that Somerset, though seeking a general pardon, still "had much influence and had prevented these days that parliament should meet, which would be contrary to him and Suffolk". Thus the Spanish faction continued to have its way.<sup>41</sup>

The parliament of 1621 resulted from the repercussions of the Thirty Years' War upon English politics. The war began in 1618 and was coeval with the fall of the Howards and a temporary absence of Gondomar from England. It caused Protestant and anti-Spanish sentiment to flare up at the court and in the council. Abbot and Southampton were hot for war. Pembroke and Naunton urged upon James the danger of supporting Spain during the German crisis; other councilors—Mandeville, Bacon, Hamilton, Coke, Edmondes—were ready for a strong anti-Spanish policy; and Buckingham, now the arbiter of patronage, joined the war party. James complained that he was surrounded by three hundred Winwoods. The war party, which meant the vast majority of councilors, though opinions differed as to what a war might mean, urged James to summon parliament, without which he could not hope to speak effectively on German affairs.<sup>42</sup> And there was also the hope, long cherished by anti-Spanish ministers, that king and people might find reconciliation in a foreign policy of which they both approved. But James hated war and detested parliament. Torn between two opposite lines of policy he became irresolute and hesitating, hoping against hope that the question would solve itself, and did nothing. For over two years he resisted the promptings of his ministers.

In 1619 and the early months of 1620 the Spanish faction appeared to be dead. But with Gondomar's return in March, 1620, and Buckingham's defection from the war party in the following summer, Spain once more had powerful advocates at court. For the moment Buckingham was more angry with the Dutch than with the Spanish, and he foresaw that a parliament would involve him in some personal danger. "The Puritans have rendered Buckingham Spanish", wrote Tillières, "for seeing that they mean to attack him, he knows no way of securing protection against them except by the Spanish match."<sup>43</sup> He carried

<sup>41</sup> Sarmiento to Philip III, Dec. 26, 1615, Jan. 30, 1616, Sarmiento to the Duke of Lerma, July 1, 1615, Spanish Trans., 12/36 and 37.

<sup>42</sup> "The adversaries of Spain are trying to make the king assemble parliament", Friar Diego de la Fuente to Philip III, Nov. 29, 1618, Spanish Trans., 12/21; "Many ministers strongly urge this step", Dec. 20, 1619, *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1619-1621*, p. 77.

<sup>43</sup> Tillières to Puisieux, Feb. 13, 1621, Paris Transcripts, 3/54, P. R. O.

certain councilors with him: Hay, now earl of Carlisle, who was one of his intimates, Arundel, the only Howard of influence in 1621, Calvert, Weston, and Cranfield, who were men of the new bureaucracy, ready to obey orders without question.<sup>44</sup> Events and appointments in 1621 tended to strengthen this group, but without Buckingham it was nothing. The Spanish party in 1621 consisted of those councilors who followed the great favorite most closely. James's drifting inaction played into the hands of these men. The Venetian ambassador wrote that they "neglected no arts to keep him in this frame of mind". They suggested that he could aid his son-in-law without summoning parliament and did "everything in their power to prevent its taking place".<sup>45</sup>

The ministers desiring a parliament might have waited long had not the Spanish invaded the Palatinate. This was at first too much for even James to swallow. He received the news in September, 1620. On October 2 he "propounded a Parliament unto his Council, who upon consultation answered, that he had no way to enter into a war with foundation, without a Parliament".<sup>46</sup> But James still hesitated, and councilors had the double task of persuading him to call parliament and of keeping him to that resolution once it was taken. Naunton took the lead. James later remarked upon receiving some very bad news from Germany: "I may well thank Naunton, as were it not for him I should not have summoned parliament."<sup>47</sup> Councilors sought to make James believe that the commons if summoned would be moderate and well behaved. Tillières in several of his dispatches mentions "a promise which the Puritans have made to the king that they would not touch his prerogative" but devote themselves to the protection of Protestantism abroad. Thus councilors could assure the king that the commons would meet in a conciliatory spirit, and this was borne out by the tone of the debates during the first weeks of the parliament. Bacon had long sought to persuade the king that it would be so. In

<sup>44</sup> This statement is perhaps unfair to Cranfield, whose connection with the Spanish faction was one of political convenience. He had ideas of his own and wished to conciliate parliament by practical reforms. Nevertheless the Spaniards expressed themselves as quite satisfied with his attitude as well as with that of Hay, Calvert, and Weston. Friar Diego de la Fuente to Philip III, Mar. 10, 1619, Gondomar to Philip III, Feb. 10, 1621, Gondomar to Philip IV, Oct. 8, Nov. 23, 1621, Spanish Trans., 12/21 and 24. See also *Court and Times*, II, 287.

<sup>45</sup> *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1619-1621*, pp. 93, 152, 471. Buckingham later "acknowledged that he had been a great hinderer of calling a Parliament". Mead to Stuteville, Mar. 17, 1621, *Court and Times*, II, 239.

<sup>46</sup> Rudyard to Nethersole, Oct. 2, 1620, State Papers, German, 81/19: 17, P. R. O.

<sup>47</sup> June, 1621, *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1621-1623*, p. 64.



recommending himself for the chancery he said that he had always been gracious in the lower house and would "be able to do some effect in rectifying that body of parliament-men, which is *cardo rerum*". The tone of his reports regarding preparations for the session also shows his desire to convince the king that all might yet be well.<sup>48</sup>

James hesitated to the end. The decision was taken on November 3; "at noon never a Lord of the Council could say we should have a parliament, but after a long debate with the King, it was concluded on before night, and the writs are now writing".<sup>49</sup> Even after this the possibility remained that the commons might not meet. The Venetian ambassador reported that the Spanish ministers sought "to destroy if possible the decision to summon parliament, or at least to postpone the carrying of it into effect. Its destruction may be hoped for from the smallest delay." Tillières wrote that one of Gondomar's objects in attacking Naunton was that the latter's ruin might so inflame the people that James would be obliged to dissolve parliament as soon as it met. Tillières also reported the general belief that a short prorogation of parliament for a week in January was "an attempt to break it".<sup>50</sup>

Reluctant as James was to summon this parliament, he allowed it considerable latitude in attacking domestic abuses. He adjourned it, however, far too abruptly in June;<sup>51</sup> and in the autumn he quarrelled with the commons more violently than ever before. At the time of the dissolution we have the familiar picture of an angry sovereign, a favorite advocating dissolution, an intriguing foreign ambassador, and a council striving vainly for a more moderate policy.

The great part played by Buckingham and Gondomar in bringing

<sup>48</sup> Tillières to Puisieux, Oct. 14, 18, Nov. 20, 1620, Paris Trans., 3/54; Spedding, VII, 113-67. I wish to thank Mr. Hartley Simpson of Yale University for several suggestions concerning this portion of my paper.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Burton to William Carnsew, Nov. 4, 1620, St. P., Domestic, 14/117: 55; Chamberlain to Carleton, same date, *Court and Times*, II, 211. Gardiner believes (III, 373, 380-81) that the failure of a benevolence to help in the Palatinate was what decided James to call parliament. The desire for a parliament, however, was doubtless one reason why the benevolence failed. The Venetian ambassador notes that an earlier loan failed because the people thought that by refusing to lend they could "compell his Majesty to summon" parliament. *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1619-1621*, p. 152.

<sup>50</sup> *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1619-1621*, p. 484; Tillières to Puisieux, Jan. 29, 1621, Paris Trans., 3/54.

<sup>51</sup> See *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1621-1623*, pp. 65-66 for his reasons. The order to adjourn was received by the commons with much bitterness as they had much legislation half finished. Weston spoke of "the sudden, and much wondered at, and much lamented adjournment". Weston to [Digby?], June 25, 1621, Add. MSS., 36445 (Aston Papers), f. 148.

about this dissolution is discussed in Gardiner, and only a few points, therefore, need be noted here.<sup>52</sup> During those crucial winter days, as in 1610, James greatly increased the chances of a rupture by foolishly loitering in the country. There Buckingham, who was with him, urged him to remain and seek solace from political tribulation in a life of idleness and worse.<sup>53</sup> Eight days before the dissolution Gondomar wrote that James was still undecided but "was being valiently urged on by the Marquis of Buckingham and other good friends". In the council meeting that voted the dissolution Buckingham insolently silenced Pembroke's objections and hastened, after the decision, to tell Gondomar the result. In reporting the dissolution to Philip IV Gondomar wrote that "the Marquis of Buckingham has had a great part in this and deserves to be thanked". Tillières remarked that Buckingham scarcely acted as if he were English.<sup>54</sup>

It was Gondomar's famous letter to the king complaining that the commons were insulting Spain which brought about the final crisis, but Gondomar's efforts did not end here. Between the last sitting of the commons (December 19) and the proclamation of dissolution (January 6) he sought to insure that the parliament would be broken. James was considering the punishment of certain members, and Gondomar "endeavored to contrive that these and other imprisonments . . . should take place before the final break up of parliament, that the king should be the more obliged to dissolve". When the council asked delay before the dissolution was proclaimed, Gondomar urged the king to publish the proclamation at once. Spain could no longer treat with

<sup>52</sup> Gardiner, IV, 85-87, 231, 248-49, 265-66. For Buckingham's early efforts to secure a dissolution see also Tillières to Puisieux, Apr. 3, May 2, May 29, Paris Trans., 3/55. The last of these dispatches concerns Buckingham's fear of Yelverton's revelations. Tillières says that James refused to dissolve parliament but sent a threatening letter to Yelverton telling him that if he did not retract his statements James would dissolve parliament and have him hanged.

<sup>53</sup> Tillières to Puisieux, Dec. 20, 1621, Jan. 6, 24, 1622, Paris Trans., 3/55 and 56.

<sup>54</sup> Gondomar to the Archduchess Isabella, Dec. 22, 1621, Simancas MSS., Gardiner's Transcripts, Add. MSS., 31112, no. 291. So far as I can tell, there were no councilors who would have urged a dissolution except the followers of Buckingham. Of these, Cranfield opposed it, and Calvert and Weston, though they must have approved, could scarcely have carried any great weight in a decision of this kind. Wotton, who had just been reconciled to Rome under Gondomar's influence, might have urged it, but he was now an old man and had no great influence. It is not unlikely, however, that Prince Charles supported a dissolution at this time. Buckingham's power over him was already great, and Gondomar wrote on December 22 that he had just spent three hours with Charles urging him to support Spain in talking with his father and to break with all other influences. *Ibid.* Gondomar to Philip IV, Jan. 21, 1622, Spanish Trans., 12/26; Tillières to Puisieux, Jan. 24, 1622, Paris Trans., 3/56.

him while such a parliament remained in existence, said Gondomar; indeed, dissolution was now necessary for James "to be well seated on the throne". "This induced the king to overcome all the difficulties that were put to him on the other side", and the proclamation, containing a provocative counterprotestation, was issued on January 6.<sup>55</sup>

Against the combination of king, favorite, and ambassador, the council had small chance of success though James certainly had every warning that moderation was essential and dissolution highly impolitic. In November Prince Charles, repeating what the council had asked him to write, urged his father to make minor concessions and to have patience with unruly speeches. Charles added that he had consulted with "those of the council that the king trusts most". Williams, the new lord keeper, advised James to mitigate his claims regarding parliamentary privilege and to compromise with the stand taken by the commons. Sir Humphrey May, the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, added his arguments to those of Williams.<sup>56</sup> Councilors protested strongly against the dissolution and the acts that accompanied it. James told the commons in 1624 that Cranfield had begged on his knees that the parliament of 1621 should not be dissolved.<sup>57</sup> "My Lord of Pembroke and Marquis Hamilton spoke vehemently at the council table against the dissolving of parliament, affirming that the day would come when this error would be imputed to the council, and not the king; and therefore they protested against it." Councilors entreated James to abandon the thought of punishing members and begged that the proclamation announcing the dissolution be delayed, hoping to modify its tone or perhaps to prevent it altogether. They did succeed in postponing it for a week. This was apparently due to Pembroke. "The parliament should have been dissolved and the proclamation a-printing, but that the Earl of Pembroke so vehemently interceded with the king, that it is yet suspended."<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Gondomar to Philip IV, Jan. 21, 1622, Spanish Trans., 12/26. See Hacket (I, 48) on the uselessness of proclamations following a dissolution of parliament.

<sup>56</sup> Charles to Buckingham, Nov. 3, 28, 1621, Dr. Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James I* (2 vols., London, 1839), ed. by John S. Brewer, II, 209-10; Harl. MS. 6987, f. 205; Hacket, I, 81.

<sup>57</sup> Apr. 16, 1624, Gurney MS. (at Keswick Hall, near Norwich), f. 228.

<sup>58</sup> Mead to Stuteville, Jan. 10, 22, 1622, *Court and Times*, II, 281, 287; *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1621-1623*, pp. 199, 215; Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 4, 1622, St. P., Domestic, 14/127: 8. Tillières wrote that "many of the councillors of state" opposed the imprisonment of members and "pointed out the great inconveniences that would ensue" (to Puisieux, Jan. 24, 1622, Paris Trans., 3/56). Councilors "obliged the king to suspend and entertain for ten days the manifesto and publication of the proclamation" (Gondomar

Thus members of the council, in spite of their slippery position, sought to mollify James's anger with the commons. Their arguments, however, went unheeded, and imprisonments, dissolution, and proclamation were all carried into effect. Gondomar's description of the council meeting in which dissolution was determined upon shows how little influence the council had and how it was disregarded. James himself was present and announced his resolution to dissolve, determined to carry his will against the advice of his ministers. He gave "an account of his determination to the council, with his reasons for doing so, at which those who were badly disposed were frozen to death; they ended by confirming it, with evidence of great inward grief; no one dared to contradict it but the Earl of Pembroke, high chamberlain, a great Puritan. He said there was no need of voting or disputing, for the king had declared his will. The Marquis of Buckingham replied, that if he wished to contradict the king's will he should do so, for he in his case would do the same, although his Majesty were present. This made the Earl hold his tongue, and he and the others approved it."<sup>59</sup>

Accounts of this dissolution contain statements that James would never summon another parliament.<sup>60</sup> This was undoubtedly his intention, although, once his anger had somewhat abated, he occasionally confessed that another parliament might prove a difficult thing to avoid. He resisted several moves towards a parliament in the years immediately following 1621. Williams frequently urged a meeting of the commons. In the autumn of 1622 the council debated the possibility of clearing the way for a new session by a general redress of grievances, but James refused to listen. There was no possibility of another parliament, he said, until the success or failure of the Spanish negotiations was indubitably demonstrated or until he could be assured that the commons would display a different spirit.<sup>61</sup>

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to Philip IV, Jan. 21, 1622, Spanish Trans., 12/26). The council voted the dissolution on December 30. See Caesar's notes, Add. MSS., 34324, f. 147.

<sup>59</sup> Gondomar to Philip IV, Jan. 21, 1622, Spanish Trans., 12/26.

<sup>60</sup> Gondomar to the Archduchess Isabella, Dec. 22, 1621, Simancas MSS., Gardiner's Transcripts, Add. MSS., 31112, no. 291; *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1621-1623*, p. 199; Gondomar to Philip IV, Jan. 21, 1622, Spanish Trans., 12/26.

<sup>61</sup> James to Bristol, Oct. 4, 1622, in William Prynne, *Hidden Workes of Darkenes Brought to Publike Light* (London, 1645), p. 20; Hacket, I, 81, 85, 104, 109-10; the council to the king, Oct. 12, 1622, St. P., Domestic, 14/133: 45; Nethersole to Carleton, Sept. 28, Oct. 24, 1622, State Papers, Holland, 84/109, P. R. O.; same to same, Nov. 2, 1622, St. P., German, 81/27; Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 26, 1622, St. P., Domestic, 14/133: 59.

In the autumn of 1623, however, he found himself under severe pressure from a new and unexpected quarter. Charles and Buckingham returned from Madrid in October, demanding a reversal of English policy and a war against Spain. Their plans included a parliament, where the marriage treaties could be dissolved with a minimum of embarrassment and where war supplies could be obtained. They began a campaign to gain the king's consent. Either Charles or Buckingham remained with him constantly, keeping him almost a semiprisoner, excluding from his presence those who desired a policy different from their own.<sup>62</sup> James was in no position to resist for long. Physically he was now an old man. The journey to Spain had been something of a lark for Charles and Buckingham, but for James it had been a period of unbroken mental anguish which had told upon his strength. His policy of peaceful diplomacy was now thoroughly discredited, and his habit of yielding to his son and his favorite had now become fixed. Their policy filled him with alarm, and he clung instinctively to friendship with Spain, but his only defense was to sink into a state of distracted inaction which could not last.<sup>63</sup> He held out for some time, forbidding all debate in the council. The question of a parliament was raised there in November, but on December 1 the Venetian ambassador wrote that "this was all quenched". He finally agreed that the council might debate a parliament on December 20. There was no doubt what the decision would be. Conway wrote Buckingham of the intended meeting: "The work of this day before the Prince, concludes (as I conceive by all voices) a parliament: and to objections and difficulties good answers and provisions to be offered." At the last moment, however, James forbade the debate.<sup>64</sup>

But though James prevented discussion in the council, he could not or at any rate did not prevent it on the part of the commissioners for Spanish affairs, who were twelve of the leading ministers, among whom the question of a parliament would arise naturally as an obvious alterna-

<sup>62</sup> Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 31, 1624, St. P., Domestic, 14/158: 72; *Cal. St. P., Venetian*, 1623-1625, pp. 210, 216.

<sup>63</sup> Tillières, who certainly did not like James, wrote: "The king descends deeper and deeper into folly every day . . . sometimes swearing and calling upon God, heaven, and the angels, at other times weeping, then laughing, and finally pretending illness in order to play upon the pity of those who urge him to generous actions and to show them that sickness renders him incapable of deciding anything, demanding only repose and, indeed, the tomb." Tillières to Puisieux, Dec. 29, 1623, Paris Trans., 3/57.

<sup>64</sup> *Cal. St. P., Venetian*, 1623-1625, p. 157; Conway to Buckingham, Dec. 20, 1623, St. P., Domestic, 14/155: 65; J. J. von Rusdorff, *Mémoires et négociations secrètes*, I, 156. The last of these references I owe to Gardiner (V, 157).

tive to further negotiations with Spain. Charles frequently summoned these commissioners without his father's being present;<sup>65</sup> discussions among them were taking place at the very time they were prohibited in the council; and it seems probable that Charles and Buckingham were forcing the issue by attempting to marshal leading councilors under their banner. The commissioners approved a parliament but only by a vote of seven to five. Salvetti wrote:

Seven of the lords of the junta are servants of the parliament and consequently against the Spanish negotiations. These are the Duke of Richmond [Lennox], the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke who is lord chamberlain, Carlisle, Belfast [Chichester], and secretary Conway. *Five oppose them and desire to revive the treaties with Spain and do not cease to do all they can against the calling of parliament.* These are the lord keeper [Williams], the Earl of Arundel who is grand marshal, lord treasurer Middlesex [Cranfield], secretary Calvert, and Weston who is chancellor of the exchequer. These men support the wishes of the king.

Tillières makes the same division, naming the same men on either side.<sup>66</sup>

There was thus considerable opposition to Charles and Buckingham among the commissioners. It sprang from various sources. Calvert and Weston were probably the only ministers who looked upon the Spanish alliance as a foundation of British policy, though Arundel desired peace with that country. Middlesex regarded the question from the point of view of trade and national finance and opposed a war on both counts. He had already quarrelled with Buckingham over expenditure and warned the king that war would invite the domination of the commons.<sup>67</sup> Williams desired to conciliate parliament, but he disapproved of calling parliament for the purpose of starting a war, distrusted Buckingham, and doubtless foresaw that an alliance of Buckingham and the popular party would be short-lived. There was opposition to Buckingham even among those ministers who had voted for a parliament. Conway and Carlisle would have supported Buckingham if he had suggested annexing the moon, but Pembroke, Hamilton, Lennox, and Chichester distrusted him in varying degrees. They were popular

<sup>65</sup> *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1623-1625*, p. 168.

<sup>66</sup> Salvetti Correspondence, Jan. 5, 1624, Add. MSS., 27962, vol. III, f. 88; Tillières to Puisieux, Dec. 21, 29, 1623, Paris Trans., 3/57. Debates on parliament among the commissioners are also mentioned in a letter of Kellie to Mar, Dec. 18, 1623, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N. B.*, ed. by Henry Paton (2 vols., London, 1904-30), II, 185.

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. St. P., Venetian, 1623-1625*, p. 262.

enough to desire a parliament, but they refused to go any further than that until they knew just what his new policy meant.<sup>68</sup>

Charles and Buckingham were thus opposed by the king and by the remnants of the Spanish party, and the support of the more popular lords was decidedly lukewarm. That they carried their point is an indication that James's reign was about over. Between Christmas and New Year's there were "daily discussions" both in the council and in the junta "which resolved in the end on a parliament". According to the Venetian ambassador James finally capitulated only with the stipulation that Coke and Sandys should be excluded from the commons. This proposal was condemned by Pembroke and Hamilton, and since Charles agreed with them it was dropped.<sup>69</sup> It may well be that James first consented to a policy of which he disapproved provided that certain conditions, unwise in themselves, should be fulfilled, and later allowed those conditions to be set aside.

The council as an advisory body played but a small part in calling this parliament. The debates in the Spanish junta were of much greater significance, and the process of excluding the council from the direction of affairs, noticed as early as 1612 by the Spanish ambassador, had now gone far.<sup>70</sup> It was to go further in the years ahead. Charles and Buckingham consulted the council largely to lend a semblance of sobriety to their schemes or to force it to share responsibility for unpopular measures. Councilors protested against every dissolution from 1625 to 1629 without the slightest effect. The council was on the decline. Its advice, however, was far sounder than that of the individual ministers selected by the early Stuarts.

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<sup>68</sup> For their opposition to other phases of Buckingham's Spanish policy see Gardiner, V, 176-80.

<sup>69</sup> Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 3, 1624, *Court and Times*, II, 443-44; *Cal. St. P., Venetian*, 1623-1625, pp. 178-79, 182-83; reports of the Spanish ambassadors, Jan. 2, 8, 9, 1624, *Spanish Trans.*, 12/31. The commission for holding this parliament upon prorogation lapsed at James's death.

<sup>70</sup> Pedro de Cuanega to Philip III, July 10, 1612, *St. P.*, Spanish, 94/19.



## THE AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE MEXICAN WAR

THROUGHOUT its history Christianity has endorsed as virtues patriotism and pacifism alike. In time of peace their incompatibility is not acute; in time of war it immediately springs into the foreground. The church as arbiter of ethics must then reconcile these two virtues or, if reconciliation is impossible, determine which shall prevail. How the American churches met this problem during the Mexican War is the subject of this study.<sup>1</sup>

The action taken by official bodies, the sermons by prominent preachers, and, more frequently, the editorials of leading denominational papers all evidenced a great variety of opinions. Some of the churches by thought and deed endorsed the antiwar views of Parson Wilbur in the *Biglow Papers*:

Ef you take a sword an' dror it,  
An' go stick a feller thru,  
Guv'ment ain't to answer for it,  
God'll send the bill to you.

Some remained noncommittal or too much divided in opinion to be classified. Others held views bordering on those of the Reverend Evan Stevenson, editor of the *Christian Intelligencer and Southern Methodist* of Georgetown, Kentucky, who insisted that the United States should prosecute the war, "though it drain the Treasury of the last dime, and make widows of our wives, and orphans of our children".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The role of the clergy in the Mexican War has been touched upon in Merle Eugene Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860* (Durham, 1929), p. 125; Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War: An Account of their Peace Principles and Practice* (New York, 1923), p. 422; Thomas F. Meehan, *Catholics in the War with Mexico*, United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1918), XII, 39-65; Sister Blanche Marie McEniry, *American Catholics in the War with Mexico* (Washington, 1937); and Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), II, 280. The McEniry study, a doctoral thesis, first came to the writer's attention three years after he had collected his material on that denomination at the Catholic, Georgetown, and Xavier universities and the Library of Congress. Some of the Mennonite churches and the Universalists, who are believed to have been pacifistic, were omitted because of the difficulty of finding adequate source material. For a description of the Mormon Battalion see Leland Hargrave Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, 1929), pp. 31-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Intelligencer and Southern Methodist: A Periodical devoted to Religion, Science, and Art*, II (1846), 1.

## I

At the beginning of the war many Protestants predicted that the Roman Catholics would prove to be traitors in a war against a Catholic country. Their fears were entirely groundless. The Sixth Provincial Council, which was in session in Baltimore when news of the outbreak of hostilities arrived there, took no explicit action in regard to the war. It did, however, in its *Pastoral Letter* remind all Catholics that obedience to the pope was "in no way inconsistent with your civil allegiance, your social duties as citizens, or your rights as men . . . you can bear witness that we have always taught you to render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, to God the things which are God's".<sup>3</sup>

The four diocesan papers which discussed both political and religious aspects of the war—the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, the *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* of New York, the *Catholic Observer* of Boston, and the *Catholic News Letter* of St. Louis—were unanimous in their point of view. Whatever doubts they may have felt in regard to the justice of the war, all agreed that once it was undertaken, it was the patriotic duty of every citizen to carry it forward as speedily as possible to a successful conclusion.<sup>4</sup> The *Catholic Telegraph* stated their position eloquently when it wrote: The die is cast, the sword is drawn, and every man must enter with all his heart into the conflict, with an unflinching determination to carry the flag of the union with triumph and honor through the storm of war. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Several Catholic papers—the Pittsburgh *Catholic*, the *United States Catholic Magazine*, the *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia, and the *Catholic Advocate* of Louisville—preserved editorial silence on the justice of the war and the duty of citizens. They joined the prowar papers in condemning those churches that favored the war as a means of proselytizing Mexico and in criticizing the antiwar activities of some Protestant bodies.<sup>6</sup> Possible good from the war was sought by the entire Catholic press. The unification of the Mexican people, the resuscitation of some

<sup>3</sup> Peter Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), pp. 165-66.

<sup>4</sup> *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, Aug. 8, Oct. 17, 1846; *Catholic Observer*, May 29, 1847; *Catholic News Letter*, May 16, 30, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> *Catholic Telegraph*, May 21, 1846.

<sup>6</sup> Protests against proselytization of Mexico: *Catholic Advocate*, Dec. 18, 1847; *Catholic Herald*, June 10, 24, 1847; *Catholic Observer*, June 5, 1847; *Catholic Telegraph*, July 9, 1846, and Mar. 2, 1848; *Catholic News Letter*, May 23, 1846. Taunts against antiwar Protestant groups: *Pittsburgh Catholic*, June 27, 1846; *Catholic Herald*, Feb. 11, May 13, 1847; *Catholic Observer*, Apr. 17, 1847; *Catholic News Letter*, May 22, 1847.

parts of the Mexican church, and a separation of church and state in Mexico were benefits foreseen. Even in so extreme an outcome as the annexation of all Mexico a few papers saw great good to Catholicism there.<sup>7</sup> The benefit which the Catholic Church in the United States would receive by the augmentation of its numbers and power, a possibility viewed with apprehension by Protestants and Nativists, was mentioned by only one paper and then in ridicule.<sup>8</sup>

At the start of the war a similar view was expressed in the *Quarterly Review* by its editor, Orestes Brownson of Boston, a recent convert to Catholicism. A year later, however, he reversed his position and went far beyond his fellow editors in his condemnation of the war, stressing Calhoun's contention that it would bring the slavery conflict to a head and thereby destroy the Union and injure the South.<sup>9</sup>

Several Catholic churches recognized the war in the course of their services.<sup>10</sup> What was perhaps the most spectacular church celebration of a victory was staged in the Catholic parish of St. Martin in Louisiana, where the parishioners marched in a procession to the church on Sunday to the sound of martial music. Within they found attached to the pillars of the church a banner bearing in gold letters the names of Buena Vista and Cerro Gordo, together with the American flag. From the chanting of the *Te Deum* to the end of the ceremony a cannon boomed.<sup>11</sup> Almost as elaborate was the welcome accorded to General Zachary Taylor, upon his return, by the bishop of New Orleans in his cathedral.<sup>12</sup>

The Methodists, on the whole, must be classed in the group of churches favoring the war, less by virtue of their few official statements than because of the sentiment of their press and the activities of a number of their ministers. The first general conference of the Methodist

<sup>7</sup> *The United States Catholic Magazine*, VIII (1848), 380; *Catholic Telegraph*, as quoted by *Catholic Herald*, June 11, 1846; *Catholic Telegraph*, Oct. 28, 1847; *Catholic News Letter*, as quoted in *Catholic Advocate*, July 4, 1846; *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 8, 1846; *Catholic Herald*, June 25, 1846.

<sup>8</sup> *Catholic Telegraph*, May 6, 1847, and an editorial of similar tenor quoted from it by *Catholic Herald*, Dec. 24, 1846.

<sup>9</sup> Brownson, "Fletcher Webster on War and Loyalty", *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, III (1846), 493-518; "Slavery and the Mexican War", *ibid.*, IV (1847), 334-67.

<sup>10</sup> The *Catholic Observer* (Jan. 23, 1847) described Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick's reassuring sermon to the departing Irish Volunteers in Boston, and the *Pittsburgh Catholic* (Jan. 16, 1847) commended the preparation for battle made by those members of the second Pennsylvania regiment who attended Mass.

<sup>11</sup> *Boston Liberator*, July 2, 1847, quoting from the *New York Sunday Dispatch* and the *St. Martinville (La.) Gazette*. According to the same account the Catholic cathedral and churches of St. Louis celebrated these victories with brilliant illumination.

<sup>12</sup> *Pittsburgh Preacher*, Jan. 5, 1848.

Episcopal Church, South, following the schism of 1844, was in session when hostilities commenced. It took no action, nor did it meet again until the war was over. That the church was fully aware of the evangelical possibilities of the new Southwest was shown by the steady migration of its ministers into Texas, where their numbers increased over 50 per cent from 1845 to 1848.<sup>13</sup> The only general conference to be held during the war by the Northern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church jumped the gun by including, before the peace treaty was actually ratified, territory then Mexican within the boundaries of a newly created annual conference.<sup>14</sup> Although this was not necessarily a pro-war act, it showed a keen interest in the outcome. Two of the annual conferences in the North took action. The most dramatic was the descent of a hundred ministers upon the White House in 1847 after the close of the annual meeting of the historic Baltimore Conference. The delegation, headed by Dr. Noah Levings, financial secretary of the American Bible Society, called on President Polk to assure him that the Methodists were prepared to serve their country under all circumstances, in peace or in war.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, the New England Conference, comprising most of Massachusetts, at least twice passed general resolutions against war, objecting to its cost in life and money and to its irreligious tendencies such as Sabbath desecration.<sup>16</sup>

The papers of no denomination were more zealous in support of the war than were some of the Methodist organs. The Reverend Evan Stevenson of Kentucky announced in his small but vociferous *Christian Intelligencer and Southern Methodist* that the popular slogan, "My Country, *right* or *wrong*", thrilled him. When war proved inevitable, he believed that the prayer of every man should be, "Teach my *hands* to *war*, and my *fingers* to *fight*." To prove his sincerity, Stevenson volunteered at once to serve his country on the Rio Grande.<sup>17</sup> The *Quarterly*

<sup>13</sup> *Methodist Almanac for 1846* (New York, 1845), p. 19; *ibid.*, 1849, p. 19. Pittsburgh *Presbyterian Advocate*, Sept. 9, 1846.

<sup>14</sup> *Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1848-1856* (New York, San Francisco, Cincinnati), III, 29, 39, 40.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Christian Advocate and Journal*, Aug. 25, 1847; *New York Observer*, Mar. 27, 1847.

<sup>16</sup> Boston *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal*, May 10, 1848. The Wesleyan Methodists, a vigorous young schismatic group with its backbone in New England, and the Ohio Conference Missionary Society passed resolutions against the war (*New York National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 13, 1847; Cincinnati *Western Christian Advocate*, Sept. 25, 1846).

<sup>17</sup> *Christian Intelligencer and Southern Methodist*, II, editorial comments in the June, July, and August, 1846, and January, 1847, issues. The paging of this periodical is irregular.

*Review*, described by its editor, Dr. Henry B. Bascom, president of Transylvania University, as the official organ of the Southern branch of the church, was also in favor of the war. The *Review* considered war a part of a system of providential arrangements by which the Deity carried forward His purposes of mercy toward mankind.<sup>18</sup> The editor of *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal* of Boston, in the face of the somewhat pacific views of the New England Conference, wrote with a similar consciousness of national destiny.<sup>19</sup>

The *Christian Advocate and Journal* of New York, an official organ of the Northern Methodists and one of the most important religious papers in the country, questioned the justice of the war; but it believed that this was God's way of punishing the Mexicans for their sins and that its results, namely, the weakening of the power of the debased Catholic priesthood and the checking of endless revolution, would be salutary to Mexico.<sup>20</sup> The *Christian Advocate* of Nashville and the *Christian Advocate* of Richmond wavered in their views but in the main substantiated the position of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*.<sup>21</sup> The Richmond paper urged support of the church's missionary work in Texas because Texas occupied a strategic position geographically for supplying Mexico with the Bible and evangelical ministers. Open opposition to the war by the Methodist papers was more mildly expressed than was their support, and it was exclusively northern.<sup>22</sup>

The militant views of the press were sometimes echoed in the pulpit. The Reverend Richard A. Stuart of Iberville, Louisiana, secured permission to leave his charge for six weeks "to lick the Mexicans", and he became a captain. He was convinced that the American soldiers were the children of Israel bound for Mexico as the land of Canaan and that an overruling Power was using the war to assist the American people in achieving new destinies. Other ministerial colleagues of Stuart, serving as chaplains, saw possibilities in the war when they implored the Metho-

<sup>18</sup> Henry B. Bascom, "Patriotism, as connected with the Nature and Claims of Civil Government", *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Church, South*, I, 37-52; "The Necessity of General and Special Education in Connection with the Progressive Spirit of the Age", *ibid.*, 518-21. See also *ibid.*, II (1848), 474, for a further defense of religious imperialism and a fantastic interpretation of the war according to the twelfth chapter of Revelation.

<sup>19</sup> *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal*, July 8, 1846; May 19, 1847.

<sup>20</sup> *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Nov. 11, 1846.

<sup>21</sup> *Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 13, July 22, 1847; *Nashville Christian Advocate*, June 5, 1846, June 30, 1848.

<sup>22</sup> *Western Christian Advocate*, June 11, 1846; *Auburn Northern Christian Advocate* (1846-48), *passim*. George Peck, D.D., "Political Economy", *Methodist Quarterly Review*, ser. 3, VIII (1848), 403; "The Revolutions of 1848", *ibid.*, 549 ff.

dists at home to send missionaries with the army.<sup>23</sup> The North had its share of militant Methodist preachers, men like Henry C. Slicer, pastor of the Wesley Chapel in Washington, who told the Baltimore volunteers in the marine barracks that it was a leading principle of Christianity to be ready to fight and die for one's country and that a man who would not fight could not be trusted to save his own soul. He had himself been a soldier and wished that his age and vigor permitted him to be one again.<sup>24</sup>

Among the Southern Baptists the drift of opinion was prowar. The first triennial meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, held in Richmond during the first month of the war, accepted a report from the Committee on New Fields of Labor for Foreign Missions, which compared the war to the encompassing of Jericho and rejoiced that sooner or later Mexico was "to be redeemed from the withering reign of the Man of Sin" and that the "voice of pure Christianity" was "yet to resound through 'the halls of Montezumas.'" <sup>25</sup>

Southern Baptist press opinion coincided with this official statement. John L. Waller, the imaginative editor of the *Western Baptist Review* of Louisville, feared that unless Mexico were soundly defeated Texas would be enslaved, and, what was more serious, that "the yoke of papal oppression would be placed upon every state of this Republic" and "the laws of Mexico would be planted on the ruins of our constitution".<sup>26</sup> The *Baptist* of Nashville believed that this war, one in a series emancipating the world from tyranny and barbarism, would end in the establishment of political and religious freedom in Mexico.<sup>27</sup> The *Christian Index* of Atlanta consoled itself with the thought that the war "will be eventually overruled for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom".<sup>28</sup> The nearest to a protest against the war came from the *Religious Herald*

<sup>23</sup> Philadelphia *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer*, Aug. 15, 1846; William Jay, *A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War* (Boston, 1849), pp. 262-64; Nashville *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, July 3, 24, 1846.

<sup>24</sup> *Liberator*, July 10, 1846; *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal*, XX (1847), 143. Similar sermons were preached by Dr. Thomas Miner of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and the Reverend William M. Daily of Madison, Indiana. *Northern Christian Advocate*, Dec. 23, 1846; *Liberator*, Jan. 14, 1848.

<sup>25</sup> June 10-15, 1846, *Proceedings* (Richmond, 1846), pp. 17-18.

<sup>26</sup> "The War with Mexico", *Western Baptist Review*, I (1846), 361-67. Similar editorials appeared in II (1846), 96-104, and III (1847), 41-47.

<sup>27</sup> *Baptist*, May 30, 1846.

<sup>28</sup> *Christian Index*, as quoted in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 18, 1847. For the position of the *Christian Index* see also the *Utica Christian Contributor and Free Missionary*, Nov. 5, 1846.

of Richmond, which did not discuss the justifiability of the war but urged all Christians to pray for a speedy restoration of peace.<sup>29</sup>

Though the Old School Presbyterians officially deplored the war as a national calamity, their press and several of their leaders gave it considerable credit as a blessing in disguise. The general assembly in two successive years passed a broad resolution calling the church to a day of prayer for forgiveness of individual and national sins in view of the existing calamity of war. The ministers were enjoined to preach on this subject on the first Sabbath of July.<sup>30</sup> Similarly cautious action was taken by the Synod of New York and the Synod of Mississippi. However much the latter may have deplored the war, it later petitioned the Board of Foreign Missions to consider the propriety of sending missionaries to those parts of Mexico occupied by the army. The Synod of New Jersey refused by a close vote to take a stand.<sup>31</sup>

The Old School press evolved a consistent denominational pattern. War was a scourge of God, a punishment for sin, either ours or the enemy's, yet it might be overruled for good by the opening of Mexico to the gospel. The *Presbyterian Herald* of Louisville gave a concise summary of this point of view.<sup>32</sup> Later the *Herald* asserted that Providence was using the war to extend Christianity to a nation nominally Christian but "as really idolatrous as the Chinese".<sup>33</sup> Other Old School papers took about the same stand as the *Herald*.<sup>34</sup> They were especially unanimous in regard to the God-given chance to evangelize Mexico. The *Presbyterian* of Philadelphia, with its stubborn insistence that the war could have been averted by negotiation, occupied an anomalous position among the Old School publications.<sup>35</sup>

How many Old School ministers obeyed the injunction of the general assembly regarding the day of prayer, it is hard to say. It is certain, however, that few antiwar sermons were printed in the denominational papers. Only three have been found—by Dr. John C. Young, president

<sup>29</sup> *Religious Herald*, Aug. 5, 1847.

<sup>30</sup> *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Old School* (Philadelphia, 1845-47), XI, 216, 217, 403.

<sup>31</sup> Philadelphia and New York *Presbyterian*, Oct. 31, 1846; Oct. 30, 1847; Louisville *Presbyterian Herald*, Dec. 3, 1846; *New York Observer*, Jan. 15, 1848.

<sup>32</sup> *Presbyterian Herald*, May 21, 1846; *New York Observer*, Jan. 15, 1848.

<sup>33</sup> *Presbyterian Herald*, July 9, 1846.

<sup>34</sup> Pittsburgh *Presbyterian Advocate*, Dec. 22, 1847, Jan. 5, May 31, 1848; Richmond *Watchman and Observer*, May 14, 1846, Apr. 15, July 1, Dec. 2, 1847; New Orleans *Presbyterian*, as quoted in the Cincinnati *Presbyterian of the West*, Feb. 17, 1848; *Southern Presbyterian Review*, I (1847), 105, 170, 171. The *Review* was the only one of this group which did not rejoice over the opening of Mexico to Protestants.

<sup>35</sup> *Presbyterian*, June 20, 1846, June 17, 1848.



of Center College, Kentucky, the Reverend James Anderson of West Rushville, Ohio, and the Reverend Thomas E. Thomas of Hamilton, Ohio.<sup>36</sup> The sermons and activities of the other Old School ministers, at least insofar as the church press published them, were outspokenly in favor of the war. At the first commencement of the Citadel Academy at Charleston, South Carolina, the Reverend Thomas Smyth, D.D., an intellectual leader of Southern Presbyterianism, defended both defensive and punitive war by Old and New Testament alike. The Bible "requires courage as a virtue, even curses cowards who refuse to fight for their country; and when the cause is just, and the war necessary, encourages us by the help of the Lord God of Hosts".<sup>37</sup> He tried to protect himself from the charge of militarism, but his sermon was viewed as an unequivocal defense of war by the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, of which he was one of the editors. To Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Lexington the main issue of the war was the opportunity it afforded for securing religious toleration for American citizens resident in Mexico.<sup>38</sup> An obtrusive attempt was made by the Reverend W. L. McCalla to secure from President Polk a chaplaincy in the army and thereby take "the side of our country against our cruel enemies in a just and honorable war".<sup>39</sup> Before the war closed, one Old School minister on his own responsibility was the advance guard of an "evangelical army of occupation" in Mexico; and a second, the Reverend J. T. Paxton, a young man, was diligently preparing himself to go by learning Spanish. The Reverend John C. Smith of Washington, although he did not go in person, made eloquent pleas to Christians to put a Bible in every Mexican home. He declared that the sword had opened the way for the great movement of the present century, "the one general united effort to cover Mexico with Bibles, and heal her wounds with leaves from this tree of life".<sup>40</sup>

The Cumberland Presbyterians resembled closely the Old School in their cautious call for a day of prayer in the face of the horrors of war and in their eagerness to evangelize Mexico.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Presbyterian Herald*, Aug. 20, 1846; *Presbyterian of the West*, Nov. 11, 1847; Thomas E. Thomas, *Covenant Breaking and its Consequences* (Rossville, 1847), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> "The Relation of Christianity to War, and the Portraiture of a Christian Soldier", in *Complete Works of Rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D.*, ed. by J. Wm. Flinn (10 vols., Columbia, 1908-12), V, 351-77; *Southern Presbyterian Review*, I, 170-71.

<sup>38</sup> *Presbyterian*, Jan. 8, 1848.

<sup>39</sup> *Presbyterian Herald*, July 15, 1847; Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk, 1845-1849* (4 vols., Chicago, 1910), II, 187.

<sup>40</sup> *Philadelphia Christian Observer*, May 21, June 25, 1847; *Presbyterian Advocate*, Sept. 9, 1846, May 31, 1848.

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Lebanon, Tennessee, 1845-55), no volume number, p. 13; *Watchman and Observer*, Dec. 2, 1847.

II

Sentiment in some of the churches was either so noncommittal or so much divided as to defy classification into prowar and antiwar groups. For instance, one may search through the journals and newspaper reports of the many annual state conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church held during the war without being aware of its existence. At the general convention of 1847 it was moved that the Prayer Book be revised to include, among other new prayers, one for the restoration of peace, but the resolution was lost in a fog of debate.<sup>42</sup> The bishops' "Pastoral Letter" of that year regretted the war but prayed that the Kingdom of God might be advanced by it.<sup>43</sup> Episcopal papers made so little comment on the war that it is almost impossible to evaluate their attitude. The *Protestant Churchman* of New York and the *Episcopal Recorder* of Philadelphia took an attitude of resignation, and a third, the *Western Episcopalian* of Gambier, Ohio, completely ignored the subject.<sup>44</sup>

In striking contrast with the general silence of the Episcopal Church was the enthusiasm of the Reverend Dr. John McVickar, at that time the chaplain of Ft. Columbus, New York. When the First Regiment of New York Volunteers left for California he became eloquent:

You, my fellow citizens constituting the California Regiment, are . . . destined to engraft the institutions of the East on the wild plants of the West—you are our chosen carriers to introduce into less favored lands a higher and purer Christian civilization. . . . "Go forth," she ["The Venerable Genius of our Anglo-Saxon land"] says, "my well-armed sons—the sword in your hands, but peace in your hearts and justice in your deeds. Go forth as Apostles. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

In this intermediate group are also to be found the German churches. Although there were general synods and many state synods of the Lutheran Church during the war period, only two small groups gave official recognition to it, and both condemned it.<sup>46</sup> The two Lutheran papers

<sup>42</sup> *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a General Convention, 1847* (New York, 1847), pp. 21, 22; New York *Protestant Churchman*, Oct. 16, 1847. Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio prepared a prayer for peace in time of war to be used at the discretion of his ministers (*Gambier Western Episcopalian*, Dec. 3, 1847).

<sup>43</sup> "The Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America", in the *Protestant Churchman*, Nov. 27, 1847.

<sup>44</sup> *Protestant Churchman*, Feb. 6, 1847; *Episcopal Recorder*, May 9, 16, 1846.

<sup>45</sup> *Memorial and Petition of Col. J. D. Stevenson of California* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 16<sup>b</sup>; William A. McVickar, *The Life of the Reverend John McVickar, S. T. D.* (New York, 1872), pp. 309, 314.

<sup>46</sup> The conference of the Franckean Evangelic Lutheran Synod, *Lutheran Observer*,

published at the time differed in their editorial policy. The conservative *Lutheran Standard* of Columbus published war news but refrained from critical comment. The *Lutheran Observer* of Baltimore, the mouthpiece of the theologically liberal element, edited by Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, militantly opposed the war and contended that the popular slogan, "Our country, right or wrong", was a monstrous doctrine and a clear infraction of the Holy Bible. If that were true, he said, the United States would still be bound to England, and Luther would never have come forth to preach.<sup>47</sup>

The German Reformed Church was more silent than the Lutheran. The formal reports of the annual general synods and the newspaper reports from the classes made no mention whatsoever of the war. The *Weekly Messenger* of Chambersburg, the official paper published in English, maintained almost total editorial silence.<sup>48</sup>

The Evangelical Reformed Church, Dutch, followed the example of the other noncommittal churches. In 1846 the Dutch Reformed Synod set aside the first Sunday in July as a day of prayer.<sup>49</sup> Although the war was not specifically named as the reason for this, it was so interpreted by the *Presbyterian*.<sup>50</sup> The church's only newspaper, the *Christian Intelligencer* of New York, spoke slightly of the so-called "honor" of war and of the behavior of a supposedly Christian army in Mexico.<sup>51</sup> It gave generous space to an antiwar sermon by the Reverend Gustavus Abeel of Geneva, New York, published at the request of some of his hearers. Abeel believed that war, while ostensibly waged for noble motives, was actually waged for the selfish interests of the few. The Mexican War originated, he believed, in individual and national cupidity and was unworthy of the country's exalted character.<sup>52</sup> In contrast, the Reverend Cornelius T. Demarest, of Hackensack, New Jersey, at a soldier's funeral, proclaimed it an honor to die for such a country as the United States "in this war with Mexico for just causes and desirable ends".<sup>53</sup>

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Dec. 4, 1846. The Middle Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod on the eve of the war disapproved of the attempt made by editors and rulers to stir up a war spirit. *Ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1846.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1847, Feb. 11, 1848; *Lutheran Standard*, May 27, June 10, 1846.

<sup>48</sup> *Weekly Messenger*, May 27, Dec. 16, 1846, Apr. 6, 1848.

<sup>49</sup> *Minutes of the General Synod of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Dutch* (New York, 1846-48), VII, 97.

<sup>50</sup> *Presbyterian*, June 13, 1846.

<sup>51</sup> *Christian Intelligencer*, July 30, Dec. 17, 1846, Jan. 14, 1847.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 11, 18, 1847.

<sup>53</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, Aug. 18, 1847.

The Disciples of Christ were silent as a church, except for a signed statement drawn up by a hundred and fifty members in New England. This statement condemned the war as an invasion of Mexico, its motives as lust of territory and the desire to extend slavery, and its continuance as "one of the greatest crimes of our modern history".<sup>54</sup> The church's main periodical, the *Millennial Harbinger*, said little until the close of the war. Its editor, Alexander Campbell, then took up the subject with great vigor to pen a total repudiation of war.<sup>55</sup>

Two of the larger denominations, the Northern Baptists and the New School Presbyterians, discussed the war in their press, but opinion was too evenly divided to permit their being classified simply as "prowar" or "antiwar". Officially, the Baptists in the North were almost silent. The lack of a general convention during the war period made impossible any authoritative statement parallel to that of the Baptist Church, South. The annual state conventions in the end took no action whatever, but in Massachusetts there was a lively discussion before a resolution opposing the war was finally tabled.<sup>56</sup> Two missionary groups, the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, regretted the disastrous moral effects of the war.<sup>57</sup>

The war views of the Northern Baptist press ranged from mild support to outspoken opposition. The *Christian Chronicle* of Philadelphia and the *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Record* wavered in their positions but tended toward a mild support of the war; the *Chronicle* advised the Baptists to prepare missionaries for Mexico.<sup>58</sup> The *Christian Review*, the official journal of the church, took no stand whatsoever on the war although it published at least one general article justifying defensive warfare.<sup>59</sup> In open opposition to the war were the influential *New York Recorder*, the *Western Christian Journal* of Columbus, the

<sup>54</sup> *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Jan. 21, 1847.

<sup>55</sup> "War", *Millennial Harbinger*, ser. 3, III (1846), 638-42; "An Address on War", *ibid.*, V (1848), 361-86. The small Louisville *Christian Journal* mildly regretted the war (Oct. 24, 31, 1846).

<sup>56</sup> Boston *Christian Reflector*, Jan. 27, 1848.

<sup>57</sup> *Fifteenth Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society* (New York, 1847), p. 19; Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, *Proceedings* (Utica, 1847), p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Communication from John M. Peck, associate editor, *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Record*, V (1846), 246-47; *Christian Chronicle*, Sept. 30, 1846, Apr. 21, Dec. 1, 1847; Jan. 19, 1848.

<sup>59</sup> *Amans Veritatis*, "Can War be justified on the Principles of the Christian Religion?", *Christian Review*, XII (1847), 441-56.

*Christian Reflector* of Boston, and the *Christian Contributor and Free Missionary* of Utica.<sup>60</sup> The *Recorder* questioned the popular Protestant justification of the war:

The plea that this war will be over-ruled for the advancement of Christianity with us has no force. We believe it will be, but this does not change the divine law against doing evil that good may come. We have yet to see that we are called upon to regenerate Mexico at the expense of our own degeneracy.<sup>61</sup>

It feared that the war would end in the absorption of all Mexico and wondered how Christians who approved of such a war could go in peace to their graves.

Two leaders among the Northern Baptists opposed the war, one by logic and the other by eloquence. President Francis Wayland of Brown University gave three widely quoted lectures on civil obligation. He admitted the necessity of governmental force within narrow limits. But in accordance with his hierarchy of natural rights, in which life and liberty were paramount, it was unjustifiable for a government to sacrifice human beings in defense of property or for the extension of particular religious or political beliefs. In a democracy it was the responsibility of each citizen, and not merely of the rulers, to evaluate the acts of the government. When its requisitions were just, the Christian citizen should yield a generous measure of honor and obedience; when unjust, contempt. For example, when the government plunged the country into an unnecessary and unjust war, it was the duty of a Christian to refuse to participate in it either by financial loans to the government or by personal service.<sup>62</sup> Dr. Daniel Sharp of the Charles Street Church in Boston stigmatized the war as "a war for southern territory, waged against justice, against humanity, and against the voice of God".<sup>63</sup> Two other branches of the Baptist Church, the Free-Will Baptists and the Church of God, unequivocally opposed the war.<sup>64</sup>

The New School Presbyterians, although they were unable to agree in their attitude toward the war, offered more opposition than support.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Recorder*, Oct. 13, 1847; *Western Christian Journal*, June 25, July 16, 1847; *Christian Reflector*, Oct. 8, 1846; *Christian Contributor and Free Missionary*, 1846-48, *passim*.

<sup>61</sup> *New York Recorder*, Jan. 27, 1847.

<sup>62</sup> Wayland, *The Duty of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate: Three Sermons preached in the Chapel of Brown University* (Boston, 1847), *passim*.

<sup>63</sup> "Discourse on Peace", *Christian Reflector*, June 4, 1846.

<sup>64</sup> Salem (Ohio) *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, July 30, 1847; *Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*, VII (Worcester, 1847), pp. 274 ff.; *Gospel Rill*, I (1846), 26; *Church Advocate*, XI (1846), 9, 49, 121, 154; XII (1848), 136.

The action of the general assembly of the New School was almost identical with that of the Old School—a cautious call to a day of prayer because of the existence of war.<sup>65</sup> The protests, however, from the lower church bodies were more numerous and more specific than those of the Old School. The Synod of New York and New Jersey regarded the war “both as an exhibition of human wickedness, and as a dreadful scourge from the hand of God”.<sup>66</sup> The Synod of Indiana considered the evils of “the present unrighteous war with Mexico” as being “infinitely greater than all the good which its most ardent advocates have ever promised to themselves or the nation. . . .”<sup>67</sup>

The New School press seems to have been divided about evenly in regard to the war. Time and time again the *New York Evangelist* spoke out, decrying every aspect of the war—the feebleness of the enemy, the physical suffering of the wounded, the grief of the bereaved, the unpreparedness of many for death, the debasing effect on public morals, the Sabbath desecration, the prevalence of the war spirit among Christians, the aftermath of hatred among the conquered, and the lust for territory. The *Evangelist* also repudiated the idea generally held by the Catholic press that, having embarked upon an unjust war, the only alternative was to press it vigorously to a conclusion.<sup>68</sup> The *Watchman of the Valley* of Cincinnati denounced the war as the agent of slavery and, lacking the self-assurance of the other Protestant papers, feared that the strength of the Catholic Church would be dangerously increased thereby.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand the *Christian Observer* of Philadelphia and the *Ohio Observer* of Hudson believed, with the majority of the Old School press, that God would bring forth good from the evils of war by sending Christianity to priest-ridden Mexico.<sup>70</sup> The *Christian Observer* went so far as to caution its readers against petitioning Congress for peace, on the ground that petitions might encourage Mexico to expect peace on terms which the government could not offer.

<sup>65</sup> *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, with an Appendix* (New York, 1846-50), IX, 145; *New York Observer*, June 13, 1846.

<sup>66</sup> *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 4, 1847; *New York Observer*, Nov. 7, 1846.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1847. For opposition from five presbyteries in New York and Michigan see *ibid.*, Feb. 12, 19, 1848; *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 8, 1847; *Advocate of Peace*, VII (1847), 272 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *New York Evangelist*, May 14, 21, July 9, Nov. 19, 1846; Apr. 8, June 17, Sept. 23, Oct. 21, Dec. 16, 1847.

<sup>69</sup> *Watchman of the Valley*, June 18, 1846; *ibid.*, as quoted by the *Catholic Herald*, Dec. 24, 1846.

<sup>70</sup> *Christian Observer*, Jan. 15, June 25, 1847; *Ohio Observer*, May 19, 1847.

Only two New School sermons on the war appear to have received newspaper notice, and both opposed it. The Reverend Samuel D. Burchard of New York City, still remembered for his fiery denunciation of the Democrats in 1884 as the party of "rum, Romanism, and Rebellion", told his congregation that the object of the war was to extend slavery and that it was "superlatively wrong" in every aspect.<sup>71</sup> When the Reverend Albert Hale of Springfield, Illinois, denounced the war as unjust and called the volunteers "a moral pest to society", indignation ran high throughout the state. The following day a resolution was offered in the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847, censuring Hale's sentiments and dispensing with his services of opening the session with prayer. It was narrowly defeated by a vote of 60 to 54.<sup>72</sup>

The only Presbyterian sects to come out wholly against the war were the Associate Synod of North America, centered in Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, and the antislavery Free Synod of Cincinnati.<sup>73</sup>

### III

Wholehearted opposition to the war came from the Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Quakers. State associations and consociations and local conferences of the Congregationalists deprecated the war in formal resolutions. The resolutions began in 1846 in a rather mild tone at the general association of Massachusetts and Connecticut; thenceforward they tended to become more pointed. In addition to the dehumanizing aspects of the war and its probable effect on slavery, they emphasized more than the resolutions of any other denomination the infectiousness of the war spirit and the urgent need for proper education of children in this respect. Most outspoken were the resolutions of the Western Reserve General Association and of the Worcester North Conference of Churches. The latter concluded: "... we deem it our duty decidedly to discountenance this war; to dissuade any persons from enlisting in this service; and to employ our influence in every suitable method for bringing so unholy a contest to a speedy termination".<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Causes of National Solicitude* (New York, 1848), pp. 15 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I, 390, 391.

<sup>73</sup> For the official action and press opinion of the Associate Synod of North America see *Evangelical Repository*, V (1846), 621; VI (1847), 75, 76. The Pittsburgh *Preacher*, official organ of the Associate Reformed Church of the West with its headquarters in western Pennsylvania, was won over to support the war by the opportunity it offered for Anglo-Saxon elevation of the Mexicans (June 3, Sept. 16, 1846; May 12, July 21, Nov. 10, 1847; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, Jan. 29, 1847). For the Free Synod of Cincinnati see the Washington, D. C., *National Era*, Dec. 30, 1847.

<sup>74</sup> *Liberator*, July 17, 1846; *Oberlin Evangelist*, July 8, 1846; *New York Observer*,



Congregational publications opposed the war without exception. The *Christian Mirror* of Portland, the *Christian Observatory* of Boston, and the *Congregational Almanac* expressed their opposition in measured terms; but such restraint was unendurable to the *Boston Recorder* and the *Oberlin Evangelist*.<sup>75</sup> The *Recorder* thus bluntly stated its position:

While Humanity is outraged, our country disgraced, the Laws of Heaven suspended, and those of Hell put in force, by the conduct and continuance of the Mexican war, we shall not cease (to attempt at least) to rouse the public mind to a sense of the awful guilt brought upon this nation by what has been deservedly called "the most infamous war ever recorded upon the page of history."<sup>76</sup>

The Congregational pulpit, led by the Reverend Horace Bushnell and at least a dozen others, showed its traditional readiness to preach on public questions and outstripped other denominations in the legacy of war sermons which it left. Prominently woven into their fabric are the effects of the war on the slavery question and the morals of the nation and the inadvisability of acquiring more territory to be administered by a single, central government. Even a sermon for a dead soldier, which had proved a temptation for a defense of war by some, became, in the hands of the Reverend William P. Tilden of Concord, New Hampshire, an opportunity for a peace sermon, "Shall the Sword devour Forever?"<sup>77</sup>

The official organ of the American Peace Society reported: "No class of men in our country have discussed the claims of peace so fully as Unitarian ministers."<sup>78</sup> Foes of the cause of peace were of the same opinion. The *Fall River News* of Massachusetts complained:

A large fraction, if not a majority of the Unitarian clergymen, have assumed a purely political attitude . . . for the most part they come out flat-footed against the Mexican War . . . using in the pulpit on the Sabbath,

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June 27, July 4, 1846; *Boston Recorder*, June 17, 24, July 1, 1847; *Christian Mirror*, June 24, 1847; *Ohio Observer*, July 7, 14, 1847; *Advocate of Peace*, VII, 134 ff., 274 ff.; General Convention of Congregational Churches of Vermont at Springfield, June, 1847, *Minutes* (Windsor, 1847), p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> *Oberlin Evangelist*, July 8, Aug. 19, 1846; "What might be done with the Money wasted in War", *Congregational Almanac for 1847*, pp. 4, 5; *Christian Observatory*, I, 30, 32, 528; *Christian Mirror*, May 21, 28, Dec. 17, 1846.

<sup>76</sup> *Boston Recorder*, Jan. 21, Aug. 12, 1847.

<sup>77</sup> *Lynn Pioneer and Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 4, 1847. Horace Bushnell, "Barbarism the First Danger", *National Preacher*, XXI (1847), 196-219. Other Congregational ministers who opposed the war were Rufus W. Clark, Milton P. Braman, Burdett Hart, T. N. Lord, Richard Tolman, John Weiss, and Henry B. Pearson.

<sup>78</sup> *Advocate of Peace*, VII, 67.

the precise arguments of their Whig allies, against the war, spicing the whole occasionally, with a few grains of affected piety.<sup>79</sup>

Friend and foe were alike correct. The ministerial conference went far beyond the American Unitarian Association, composed jointly of ministers and laymen, in condemning the war, flaying it in no uncertain terms, and resolving to labor to bring it to an end.<sup>80</sup> The climax of the Unitarian efforts occurred toward the end of the war. The Sixth Autumnal Convention at Salem had tabled a resolution against war as "irrelevant to the purposes of the convention."<sup>81</sup> This hesitancy so irked some of the laity and clergy that a special meeting to consider action on the war was immediately called by the committee whose resolutions had been slighted. The more radical group proved too earnest to be limited to resolutions. Borrowing a Quaker peace weapon, they organized and presented to Congress a petition thirty-six yards long, containing nearly three thousand signatures.<sup>82</sup>

The Unitarian papers took for granted the sentiment but lacked the distinctive eloquence of such of their ministers as William H. Channing and Theodore Parker.<sup>83</sup> Channing asserted that if he were to enlist in the "damnable war" to extend slavery, it would be under the Mexican banner. He prayed God to enable the Mexicans to do full justice to themselves and tried to prevent men from volunteering by circulating an anti-war pledge.<sup>84</sup> Parker combined eloquence and logic in a higher degree than almost any other opponent of war. He subscribed to the doctrine that a civilizing mission had been delegated by Providence to the nation, but he reminded ministers "who teach soldiers to wad their muskets with the leaves of the Bible" that the proper way to extend Anglo-Saxon culture was by "the schoolmaster rather than by the cannon, by peddling cloth, tin, anything rather than bullets". During an aggressive war such as this, Christians should adopt the courageous policy of nonresistance, refuse to pay taxes, and give up their war profits by refusing to make war materials.<sup>85</sup>

The Society of Friends left behind no eloquent sermons, but no

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in the *Liberator*, Feb. 25, 1848.

<sup>80</sup> *Monthly Religious Magazine*, ser. 2, I (1846), 284-87. For the hesitation of the Western Unitarians see Boston *Christian Register*, July 10, 1847.

<sup>81</sup> *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, XLII (1847), 468.

<sup>82</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 30 Congress, 1 session, pp. 156, 761; *Christian Examiner*, XLIV (1848), 152; *Christian Register*, Feb. 5, 1848.

<sup>83</sup> For a representative position of the Unitarian papers see *Christian Register*, July 3, 1847, and *Christian World* as cited by the *Liberator*, Nov. 19, 1847.

<sup>84</sup> *Liberator*, June 5, 1846; *Christian Register*, June 13, 1846.

<sup>85</sup> *A Sermon of War, preached at the Melodeon on Sunday, June 7, 1846* (Boston, 1846), *passim*.

denomination approached them in the unanimity and zeal with which they applied all the practical means they knew of swaying public opinion. When the *Friends' Review* was asked to suggest a suitable form for petitions to Congress, the editor replied: "It is the number, rather than the arguments, of petitioners that must be expected to influence the conduct of representative bodies."<sup>86</sup> The Friends certainly acted upon this assumption, harassing an antagonistic Congress with a stream of petitions from their yearly meetings. They eclipsed the Unitarian memorial by presenting one which formally represented nine thousand Friends in New England.<sup>87</sup> Their periodicals, which fairly bristled with accounts of their antiwar activities, gave little space to editorial denunciations of the war; their press, relieved as it was of the necessity of convincing Friends of the wrongness of war, turned its battery upon the general public by publishing for free distribution a number of antiwar pamphlets. Over ten thousand copies of *An Inquiry into the Accordance of War with the Principles of Christianity*, an essay by Jonathan Dymond, an English linen draper, were reprinted in Philadelphia alone during the war and sent to each member of Congress, to the members of the legislatures of all the states but seven, to editors of newspapers and periodicals, and to leading clergymen of different denominations.<sup>88</sup> The press further risked public censure by trying to stem the frantic rush of volunteers into the army by distributing "two carefully prepared publications calculated to dissuade persons from enlisting in military service".<sup>89</sup> It is characteristic of the Friends that the name of no individual stands out in the accounts of their peace activities during this period. These were genuinely the activities of an entire church and were not limited to its more prophetic members.

#### IV

Why a denomination took the position it did was the resultant of many forces. Before examination of the specifically intradenominational factors which helped to determine a church's position the general secular

<sup>86</sup> *Friends' Review*, I (1848), 344.

<sup>87</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., I sess., pp. 781, 950; *ibid.*, 2 sess., pp. 204, 213, 245; *ibid.*, 30 Cong., I sess., pp. 62, 121, 135, 329, 349, 401; *Philadelphia Friends' Weekly Intelligencer*, Nov. 6, 1847, Feb. 26, May 20, 27, 1848; *The Friend*, XIX (1846), 270; XXI (1847-1848), 80; *Friends' Review*, I, 9, 90, 186, 368, 621; for the long New England memorial, *ibid.*, I, 343.

<sup>88</sup> *The Friend*, XX, 248; XXI, 220, 224. The New York Yearly Meeting also reprinted Dymond's essay from its own set of plates and sponsored an additional peace tract of its own (*Friends' Review*, I, 328, 621).

<sup>89</sup> *The Friend*, XX, 272.

background against which the various churches played their roles must be considered.

Throughout the war the American Peace Society, the most widely known branch of the organized peace movement, continually goaded the churches with press and agent. Its tireless efforts cannot, however, be considered a purely secular influence on the churches since their ministry furnished a large share of the membership and leadership of the peace society.<sup>90</sup>

The extent to which party politics influenced church opinion it is impossible to determine inasmuch as the party affiliations of the ministers cannot be ascertained. This lack of facts is not serious because at the start of the war both Whigs and Democrats in Congress supported it. What little opposition the bill to prosecute the war received was perhaps more sectional than partisan in nature, coming almost entirely from New England and Ohio.<sup>91</sup>

Proximity to the scene of the war was a cogent factor in determining popular support. The ratio of enlistment to white population was highest in the Southwest Central region, where 1 in 33 white inhabitants volunteered, and lowest in New England, where only 1 in 2500 volunteered.<sup>92</sup> The popularity of the war decreased in the various regions in the following order: Southwest Central, Northwest Central, Southeast Central, Northeast Central, South Atlantic, Middle Atlantic, and New England. Without exception the regions along the Atlantic seaboard came last, in order from south to north.

Popular opinion of the war was swayed one way or the other by many arguments and rationalizations. Strong supporters and opponents of slavery saw in the war the extension of slave territory with all of the social, economic, and political implications. The land hungry and the adventurous saw free land and plunder. New England feared the loss of her economic domination by the further growth of her rivals, the South and the West. Budding imperialism disguised its desire for ex-

<sup>90</sup> Work of American Peace Society among churches: *Advocate of Peace*, VII, 21, 102, 128, 176, 237, 274-75. In 1846, 29 out of 68 officers (43 per cent) and 165 of the 287 life members (57 per cent) were ministers. By far the greater number were from New England and New York (*ibid.*, VII, 138, 146-48). Of the nine agents who labored for the society during the war, all but one were ministers.

<sup>91</sup> The bill to prosecute the war with Mexico passed in the House by a vote of 174 to 14. Of the 174 affirmative votes, 121 were Democrat, 47 Whig, 2 American Party, and 4 of unknown affiliation. The 14 negative votes were all Whig, 8 from New England, 5 from Ohio, and 1 from Pennsylvania. The bill subsequently passed the Senate by a vote of 40 to 2. Of the 40 affirmative votes, 23 were Democrat, 16 Whig, and 1 Whig-Democrat. The 2 negative votes were both Whig, 1 from New England and 1 from Delaware. *House Journal*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., p. 796; *Senate Journal*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., 287-88.

pansion under the formula that it was the Manifest Destiny of so strong and cultured a nation as the United States to absorb so weak, politically backward, and illiterate a nation as Mexico. This argument was peculiarly compelling in winning the support of many of the churches, for Mexico was not only ignorant but subject to a "depraved" Catholic

92 ENLISTMENT BY REGION AND STATE

Region	Enlistment	Ratio of Enlistment to White Population
1. New England.....	1,057	1 in 2,500
2. Mid-Atlantic.....	5,324	1 in 1,080
New York.....	2,936	1 in 1,270
New Jersey.....	425	1 in 1,095
Pennsylvania.....	2,503	1 in 900
3. South Atlantic.....	7,189	1 in 390
Maryland, D.C.....	1,355	1 in 335
Delaware.....	0	0
Virginia.....	1,320	1 in 680
North Carolina.....	935	1 in 590
South Carolina.....	1,077	1 in 255
Georgia.....	2,132	1 in 245
Florida.....	370	1 in 125
4. N. E. Central.....	17,493	1 in 255
Wisconsin Territory.....	146	1 in 2,085
Michigan.....	1,103	1 in 360
Ohio.....	5,536	1 in 275
Indiana.....	4,585	1 in 215
Illinois.....	6,123	1 in 140
5. S. E. Central.....	16,156	1 in 140
Kentucky.....	4,842	1 in 155
Tennessee.....	5,865	1 in 135
Alabama.....	3,026	1 in 140
Mississippi.....	2,423	1 in 120
6. N. W. Central.....	7,269	1 in 110
Iowa Territory.....	253	1 in 760
Missouri.....	7,016	1 in 55
7. S. W. Central.....	17,288	1 in 33
Arkansas.....	1,323	1 in 120
Louisiana.....	7,947	1 in 32
Texas.....	8,018	1 in 19
8. Mountain.....	0	0
9. Pacific.....		
California.....	571	1 in 160
Mormons (Iowa).....	585	
	72,932	

The ratio of enlistment to white population: *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., no. 24, "Military Forces employed in the Mexican War", Report of the Adjutant General, December 3, 1849; *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, Table I, Population of the United States Decennially from 1790-1850, IX. The fact that the census figures were collected three years later than the enlistment figures would minimize popular support in areas where the population was increasing rapidly. The outstanding exceptions to the seeming rule that the closer a state was to the battlefield the greater was the support given the war by its inhabitants were Missouri and Maryland (including the District of Columbia), both of which gave more men than their geographic position warranted, and California, which gave fewer.

The writer is indebted to Frances Fuller Ellsworth for the compilation of the tables as well as for other assistance in the preparation of the article.

Church for which they were more than willing to substitute the Protean forms of Protestantism.

Yet it is surprising to what extent church tradition and other internal factors determined the course of the churches. It will be recalled that the Roman Catholics, numbering about 1,148,000, believed that inasmuch as the war had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted with vigor. This was in accordance with Catholic tradition, beginning with St. Augustine and culminating in the Scholastics. The church had evolved numerous criteria for determining the justice and necessity of war, but here her responsibility ended. The temporal rulers bore the burden of applying the code of ethics to a given war. It was the duty of the individual citizen to support the war unless he was absolutely certain of its injustice—a certainty difficult to achieve.<sup>93</sup> In addition to Catholic tradition definite national factors influencing American Catholics must be taken into account. Hostility toward them had reached bloodthirsty heights in the Native-American movement of the forties, and the Catholics were naturally eager to counteract this hatred by demonstrating their patriotism. Finally their stakes in the disputed territory were larger than those of any other church, a fact of which they could not have been in ignorance, however rarely it was openly mentioned. Of all the church accommodations found in the territory acquired by the United States at the end of the war, over 80 per cent were Catholic; and the conceivable success of the movement to annex all of Mexico would have added enormously to their strength.<sup>94</sup> Reluctant as they were to fight fellow Catholics, they foresaw various benefits to the church in Mexico as a result of the political stability which the war might bring. Although their distribution was almost parallel to the distribution of the general white population, their numbers were disproportionately large in the Southwest Central region nearest to the scene of the war. Here they were almost ten times more numerous than their closest competitor, the Southern Methodists. This perhaps accounted for the war enthusiasm shown by the Catholics of Louisiana. But the unanimity with which their press supported the war (with the single exception of Orestes Brownson of New England) showed the church's action to have been determined from within rather than with-

<sup>93</sup> John Eppstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (Washington, 1935), pp. 68, 123; Franziskus Stratmann, O.P., *The Church and War: A Catholic Study* (New York, 1928); Charles Plater, S.J., *A Primer of Peace and War* (New York, 1915).

<sup>94</sup> J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States: Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), Ratio of the Leading Sects to the Whole Church Accommodation, p. 140.

out, inasmuch as 59 per cent of its members lived along the Atlantic seaboard, the region of least popular support of the war.<sup>95</sup>

The one million Methodists, another prowar group, were not bound by so authoritarian a tradition of war as were the Catholics. Yet John Wesley's precedent of personal loyalty to the king's cause during the American Revolution flowed from a doctrine of church and state, as enunciated in his sermons and *Articles of Religion*, a doctrine which differed little from that of Roman Catholics. His belief in obedience to the civil power was perpetuated by American Methodists in their twenty-five *Articles of Religion*.<sup>96</sup> Practical aspects of Methodism were probably more conducive than dogma to the support of the war. Their

<sup>95</sup>PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LEADING CHURCHES BY REGIONS

Name	1. New Eng.	2. Mid.- Atl.	3. S. Atl.	4. N.E. Cent.	5. S.E. Cent.	6. N.W. Cent.	7. S.W. Cent.	Total
White Population...	14	29	14	23	11	4	3	19,553,068
Roman Catholic....	13 1/2	30 1/2	15	18	4	4	15	1,148,200
Methodist, N.....	12	33 1/2	15 1/2	37	3/10	1	..	643,509
Methodist, S.....	..	..	41 1/2	..	48	6	4	448,936
Wesleyan Methodist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20,000
Baptists, N.....	31	42	..	22	..	5	..	304,545
Baptists, S.....	..	..	58	..	40	..	2	350,651
Freewill Baptists...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56,452
Church of God.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,102
Presbyterian, O.S...	1	46	19	20	11	1 8/10	9/10	174,228
Presbyterian, N.S...	1 2/3	62	4	24	6	1 1/3	..	145,416
Cumberland Pres...	..	7	..	14	57	11	12	70,261
Assoc. Synod, N.A...	3	63	..	32	..	1 2/3	..	14,650
Congregational.....	88	4	..	7	..	1/2	..	169,169
Disciples of Christ..	9	15	6	40	22	6	1/2	314,720
Friends.....	11	44	19	24	1/2	1/2	..	320,798
Prot. Episcopal....	23	36	27	10	3	1/2	1	77,632
Lutherans.....	..	56	25	15	2	2	..	61,409
German Reformed...	..	71	15	11	2	..	..	50,807
Dutch Reformed....	..	99	1	..	..	..	..	104,418
Unitarians.....	83	6 1/2	2	6	8/10	8/10	4/10	245

The figures for the Disciples of Christ and the Friends are in terms of church accommodations as given in the *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, Table XL, Church Accommodations in the United States, pp. lviii-lix. The Unitarians were enumerated by congregations in the *Unitarian Annual Register for 1847* (Boston, 1846), p. 41. The distribution of the remaining denominations was determined from official reports, minutes, journals, or almanacs. Where no distribution is given, the figures for the total membership were taken from DeBow, p. 138. The figures are of limited value for comparison since what constituted church membership differed radically from one denomination to another according to theories of infant or adult baptism, "closed communion", and similar matters of dogma.

<sup>96</sup> All creeds or confessions mentioned may be found in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., New York, 1877-78), Volume III, "The Evangelical Protestant Creeds, with Translations".



zeal for evangelization had already been amply rewarded during their short lifetime of seventy-five years in this country. They led the Protestant field and were hotly challenging the numerical supremacy of the Roman Catholics. The war offered a made-to-order opportunity to expand and to do so at the expense of a greatly disliked rival. As has already been seen, this opportunity was snatched at by the press, by the general conference of the Northern branch, and by the missionary-minded ministers of the Southern church. Here was concerted action irrespective of region.

Although the main strength of the 174,000 Old School and the 145,000 New School Presbyterians was concentrated side by side along the Atlantic seaboard, their views of the war were somewhat different: the Old School was prowar and the New School divided. A third large group, the Cumberland Presbyterians, which was strongest in the regions where the war was popular, supported the war but tepidly. These facts suggest that internal factors were more important than external ones in determining the course of the various Presbyterian branches. All were assured by the *Westminster Confession* that "Christians may lawfully, now under the New Testament, wage war upon just and necessary occasions". To determine the justice of a war, the civil magistrate measured it by those criteria which had been evolved by scholastic thinkers.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore the Presbyterians' doctrinal emphasis upon man's inherent sinfulness and the absolute sovereignty of God made war a matter of divine dispensation, "a scourge of God", hence a thing to be accepted with resignation. Historically, as Calvinists and Puritans, they had not hesitated to use the sword to advance the cause of true religion. Their traditional dislike of Roman Catholics now found a new vent in this war against Catholic Mexico.<sup>98</sup> Like the Methodists, the Cumberland and Old School branches had already acquired a toe hold in Texas. Indeed it was from the Old School Synod, of which Texas was a part, that the rather premature request already cited came to the Board of Foreign Missions to consider the sending of missionaries to Mexico.<sup>99</sup>

The indecision of the New School resulted from the fact that it was not represented in the Southwest Central region, of which Texas was a part. Moreover, the severity of its Calvinism had been so softened by

<sup>97</sup> Arthur H. Buffinton, "The Puritan View of War" in *Publications of Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions*, XXVIII (Boston, 1935), 67-86.

<sup>98</sup> Each year from 1841 to 1852 the general assembly of the Old School listened to a carefully prepared sermon on popery.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 307.

its contacts with Congregationalism that the period of the war saw a defection of many New School Presbyterians to the ranks of the Congregationalists.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, its stand on the Mexican War lay between that of orthodox Calvinism and that of Congregationalism.

The Baptists, as a church of congregational polity and traditional emphasis on the freedom of the individual conscience, had a less binding body of belief than the churches already considered. The *Philadelphia Confession* and the *New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833*, to which many of the Baptist congregations subscribed, permitted if not actually supported war.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the Baptists, quite evenly divided between the North and the South and next to the Methodists in number, were then interested in evangelization and expansion at least as much as were the other leading churches. When it came to evangelizing Mexico, the Southern Baptists were more zealous than their fellows in the North because 7500 of their number were in the Southwest and because the American Baptist Missionary Union in 1846 formally ceded the territory west of the Mississippi to the Southern Baptist Convention as a field for missionary labor.<sup>102</sup> Conversely, these factors cooled Northern enthusiasm for the war and thereby opened the way to other evaluations of it.

In spite of their extreme youth, the Disciples of Christ were distributed, like the Old School Presbyterians and the Catholics, in every region covered by this study. They prided themselves on an absence of creed and lacked administrative co-ordination.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, their leader, Alexander Campbell, did not find his voice until the war was over. In view of these facts, their silence as a denomination is understandable.

Of the churches which came from the Old World with a history of establishment, the Roman Catholic was prowar, the Presbyterian divided, and the others, the Episcopal, the Lutheran, and the Dutch and German Reformed, were for the most part silent. The Roman Catho-

<sup>100</sup> Frank Hugh Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* (Chicago, 1907), p. 430; *Congregational Almanac for 1846* (Boston, 1845), p. 53; *Almanac and Baptist Register for 1847* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 28.

<sup>101</sup> The Southern Baptists, largely prowar, generally adhered to the *Philadelphia Confession*, which retained in regard to war the exact text of the *Westminster Confession*. The Northern Baptists, divided in their opinion on the war, frequently adhered to the *New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833*, which reasserted the doctrines of the older *Philadelphia Confession* in milder form.

<sup>102</sup> *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, XXVI (1846), 169.

<sup>103</sup> J. H. Garrison, ed., *The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century: A Series of Historical Sketches* (St. Louis, 1901), pp. 172-81.

lics, the group longest established, had evolved the Augustinian tradition already noted, dividing the responsibility for war unequally between the church, the state, and the individual citizen. This tradition was accepted by Luther, a former Augustinian monk, and his followers and, with slight modification, by the Episcopal, Calvinist, and Reformed groups.<sup>104</sup> All of the various forms of this time-honored theory of war had been evolved in monarchical environments to harmonize the rival spheres of church and state. All minimized the responsibility of the individual citizen. All were alike conducive to submission or silence on the part of a church in matters involving the civil authorities.

Certain native factors operated to determine further the attitude within the four churches that were silent with regard to the Mexican War. All were churches of the Atlantic seaboard. The disestablishment of the Anglican Church during the Revolutionary period had forcefully shown the Episcopalians the wisdom of limiting the church's activity to the sphere of worship, some of the High Church clergy going so far as to refuse to vote. Throughout the fury of the slavery controversy, which, by the time of the Mexican War, had sundered two of the major churches, the Episcopal Church remained united by a policy of avoiding participation in any controversy outside the field of dogma.<sup>105</sup> Within the field of dogma the church was preoccupied by the Tractarian storm raging on both sides of the Atlantic. That the Low Church Episcopalians, who were strongly anti-Catholic, did not defend the war indicates that then, as now, the Episcopal Church put less emphasis than many Protestant denominations on expansion through evangelization and conversion.

The churches of German, Dutch, and Swiss stock did not lack evangelical fervor, but their mission field lay much closer at hand than Mexico. The flood tide of German immigration into the Middle West in the forties opened missionary fields at their very doors and created pressing problems of organization and doctrine. The debilitating storm of theological controversy did not pass them by. The confessional controversy was beginning to darken the skies of Lutheranism, and the Mercersburg debates were actually driving members out of the German Reformed Church.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Augsburg Confession* (Lutheran, Pt. I, Art. 16; and Pt. II, Art. 7); *Articles of Religion* (American Episcopalian), Art. 37; *Belgic Confession* (Dutch Reformed), Art. 36; *Heidelberg Catechism* (German Reformed), Answer to Question 104.

<sup>105</sup> William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1935), pp. 218, 266, 289.

<sup>106</sup> Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology* (New York, 1927),

Unitarianism and opposition to war were joined from the start by William Ellery Channing, the foremost exponent of Unitarianism in this country, who died on the eve of the war. His central emphasis on the benign Fatherhood of God led to his secondary emphasis on the brotherhood of all human beings and the dignity of the most unprepossessing man.<sup>107</sup> National aggression in such circumstances became indefensible, and Channing devoted himself with persuasive vigor to championing the cause of peace. The Massachusetts Peace Society, one of the first peace societies in the world, was organized in his study. A letter in opposition to the annexation of Texas, written shortly before his death, anticipated almost every argument brought forward during the Mexican War by the antiwar clergy and press.<sup>108</sup> In addition to the unifying effect of nearness to a crusading leader, the concentration of a small church within the relatively small antiwar area of New England made a consensus of opinion easily achieved.

The Congregationalists resembled the Presbyterians in numbers and the Unitarians in distribution and concentration. The resemblances carried over into the field of doctrine. The close intermingling in some regions of the Congregationalists and the New School Presbyterians has already been noted.<sup>109</sup> The more orthodox Congregationalists subscribed to the *Saybrook Platform*, which accepted the words of the *Westminster Confession* permitting a just war. The form of action adopted, *i.e.*, resolutions and days of prayer for peace, and the generally mild tone of the official resolutions further showed their conformity to their Presbyterian kindred. On the other hand, the line dividing the liberal Congregational and the Unitarian churches is also very difficult to draw. Unitarian tendencies in Congregationalism had existed in unorganized form for over a century prior to Channing, and even after a formal separation began, an extensive interchange of ideas continued. Unquestionably the Congregationalists were influenced by the concerted opposition of the Unitarian ministry to war to speak out more boldly than the New School Presbyterians.

The untiring antiwar activities of the Friends resulted from their historic insistence on pacifism as a cardinal tenet.

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pp. 117-84; Joseph Henry Dubbs, *History of the Reformed Church, German, in the United States* (New York, 1895), pp. 375 ff.

<sup>107</sup> *The Works of William E. Channing, D. D.* (Boston, 1841), III, 59-104, 297-314.

<sup>108</sup> Edwin D. Mead, *William Ellery Channing: Discourses on War* (Boston, 1903), pp. 194-228.

<sup>109</sup> See above, pp. 322-23.

From the foregoing it can be seen that certain factors tended toward uniformity of action within a church without absolutely insuring it: recognized tradition, authoritarian organization, moderate size, concentration of membership, and the influence of a dominant personality. On the question of the Mexican War in particular some factors were conducive to support: desire to regain public approval, evangelical emphasis, anti-Catholic feeling, tradition permitting "just" war, and substantial stakes in the territory adjoining Mexico. Other factors made for opposition: belief in the injustice or inexpediency of the present war, belief in the principle of absolute pacifism, concentration of the membership at a distance from the war. No church with its members concentrated in the Southwest or with a strong stake there opposed the war.

What is the historical importance of all this wartime activity on the part of the churches? Manifest Destiny, the newly formulated theory whereby a country of superior political and social institutions was rightly destined to annex one inferior in these respects, was used at this time by a group of political leaders to justify territorial expansion at the expense of Mexico.<sup>110</sup> This theory was powerfully advanced by those Protestant churches which sanctioned the war with Catholic Mexico because of the opportunity it afforded of imposing what they considered superior religious institutions on that country. It remained only for the theory of evolution to eulogize the survival of the fittest biologically to complete that dynamic rationalization of later imperialism, "The White Man's Burden".

The fruits of the antiwar churches are harder to evaluate. Although it is true that throughout no war waged by the United States, previously or subsequently, have the clergy protested more stoutly, yet sweeping military victories rather than their efforts seem to have terminated the conflict. Their contribution to the growth of a pacifist conscience awaits the appraisal of the historian in an age in which peace has triumphed over war.

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<sup>110</sup> Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of National Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 100-89.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### THE JEWISH EXCHEQUER

#### AN INQUIRY INTO ITS FISCAL FUNCTIONS

DURING almost the whole of the thirteenth century legal cases and other matters concerning the Jews of England were handled through an office of the great exchequer, the so-called *Scaccarium Judeorum*, which was set up or gradually evolved at some unspecified time near the close of the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth. Regarding this institution there is still much to be learned.

In the first half of Richard's reign there was a series of outbreaks against the Jews in many English cities; lives were lost, and, what is especially pertinent to the present subject, the records of Jewish loans were destroyed in large numbers. These outbreaks were seriously important to the crown, for the king was a sleeping partner of Jewish usury, from which he drew a considerable revenue. Accordingly there was created, in 1194, a system of public *archae* or registries in the principal cities of the kingdom, in which records of all Jewish financial transactions were kept under supervision and control of crown officials. Out of it, or at any rate consequent upon its establishment, there appeared after a few years the organization known as the Jewish exchequer, and it is the true character of this institution that is in doubt.

The subject has been discussed by William Prynne and Thomas Madox and in the last century by Joseph Jacobs and Charles Gross, who predicted a greatly increased interest in the institution because of the forthcoming publication of its records.<sup>1</sup> The most recent contribution is that of Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, who has challenged the whole former conception of the function of the Jewish exchequer and offered extremely important new information bearing upon this point. His new interpretation was corollary to his discovery that royal revenue from Jewish sources was handled through the ordinary machinery of the great ex-

<sup>1</sup> Prynne, *A Short Demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued barred Remitter into England* (London, 1656); Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the King of England* (2 vols., London, 1769); Jacobs, ed., *The Jews of Angevin England* (London, 1893), and the article on "Exchequer of the Jews" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*; Gross, "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages", in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* (London, 1888).

chequer, a significant fact which the pioneers in the field had not noticed. To the Jewish exchequer he therefore left only a judicial role; it was a "purely legal institution". This definition was very different from Madox's "place of receipt" and from Gross's "department of state which had charge of the revenues arising from the Jews".

I do not wish merely to repeat statements of Mr. Jenkinson familiar to all students of the Jewish exchequer. Yet it is important to notice certain of his chief contentions, for it has been the examination and comparison of his several statements, no less than the examination of such pertinent records as have been accessible to me, which has led me to the thesis here presented. Detailed statement of this thesis should be reserved for the moment, but in general form it is somewhat as follows: the Jewish exchequer was much more than a judicial institution; it was also an administrative institution regularly concerned with the various processes of receipt and audit involved in the handling of royal revenue from Jewish sources.

This, as will appear, is not simply a return to the position of Gross and other earlier writers. The illuminating interpretation of Mr. Jenkinson is not to be questioned in its chief positive contention: Jewish revenues were undoubtedly handled through the ordinary channels of receipt of the great exchequer. But as the interpretations of Gross and Madox had to be altered and partly contradicted in the light of new materials and further analysis of materials, so also the interpretation of Mr. Jenkinson seems to require modification. I should be less bold to question his findings had I not discovered, as I believe, evidence in his own writings of a change, a growing recognition of problems and ambiguities which he did not see in 1912. It is necessary therefore to summarize his work briefly.

There are four places in which to find Mr. Jenkinson's opinion: two long statements upon the subject and two brief summaries incidental to discussions of other institutions.<sup>2</sup>

In the earliest of these statements the discussion turns upon the description of exchequer records touching Jewish affairs. There are two main groups of such records. One of these, from which almost exclu-

<sup>2</sup> (1) Jenkinson, "The Records of Exchequer Receipts from the English Jewry", Jewish Historical Society of England, *Transactions*, VIII (London, 1918), 19-54. This address was delivered in 1912. (2) *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. III, Jewish Hist. Soc. (London, 1929), Introduction. (3) Article on "Exchequer" by Mr. Jenkinson and Miss M. H. Mills, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed. (4) *Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas*, Selden Society (London, 1932), Introduction, pp. xviii-xix.



sively Madox and Gross drew their information when they wrote on the Jewish exchequer, consists of parts of mere normal great exchequer records—receipt rolls, exchequer accounts, and others—and these are not records of a separate Jewish exchequer. It is this group of materials which deals with receipts and accounts and various matters relative to Jewish revenues. Jewish revenues, Mr. Jenkinson concludes, were handled through the normal great exchequer channels and were not at all the business of the Jewish exchequer. The second group of records comprises the so-called plea rolls of the Jewish exchequer.<sup>3</sup> These are not, Mr. Jenkinson points out, proper plea rolls but rather memoranda rolls; and they are not, as Gross and Madox believed, only a part (*i.e.*, the judicial part) of the “muniments of the Jewish Exchequer”, but rather they are the only records belonging to the Jewish exchequer. Thus what the earlier writers have described as two classes of Jewish exchequer materials Mr. Jenkinson differentiates sharply into Jewish exchequer rolls and great exchequer rolls dealing with Jewish revenues.

It is from this premise that the conclusion is drawn that “the Exchequer of the Jews then is purely legal; so far as the accountancy of Jewish receipts is concerned it is a myth”.<sup>4</sup> Why then was the *Scaccarium Judeorum* so named? Mr. Jenkinson offers the following suggestion:

The Exchequer of the Jews is an early parallel or example of the process by which the Department (the Barons of the Exchequer), the record of whose proceedings is the Memoranda Roll, split off, at an early date, a large portion of their more legal proceedings into a separate record—the Exchequer Plea Roll. The Court whose proceedings are registered on that Plea Roll is traditionally the Court of the Exchequer Barons modified by the exclusion of the Treasurer: and the Court of what I have ventured to call its early parallel—the Exchequer of the Jews—is similarly the ordinary Court of Exchequer modified for a special purpose (the purely legal one of hearing disputes into which Jewish law entered), modified this time by an inclusion—the inclusion of Jewish assistants, to whom it delegated in practice an authority which it always retained in theory in itself. In this way, then, I suggest, we may account for the name *Scaccarium* being applied to what, as we have seen, is a purely legal institution.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Four volumes of these are now in print: a selection covering nearly the whole recorded existence of the institution and a calendar of the rolls down to 1277 in three volumes. The titles are *Select Pleas, Starrs, and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, ed. by J. M. Rigg, Selden Soc. in collaboration with the Jewish Hist. Soc. (London, 1902), and *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, Jewish Hist. Soc. (vol. I, ed. by J. M. Rigg, London, 1905; vol. II, Rigg, Edinburgh, 1910; vol. III, Jenkinson).

<sup>4</sup> “Records of Exchequer Receipts”, Jewish Hist. Soc., *Trans.*, VIII, 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

In 1929, in a second discussion, Mr. Jenkinson stressed the administrative aspect of the institution at the cost of the “purely legal” character of the earlier article. Here there appear certain sentences referring tentatively to “even something like Views of Accounts” and “on the subject of irregularities . . . lists of sums paid ‘in the King’s Receipt,’ for the appearance of which in their present position (especially as they are clearly casual and incomplete) it is hard to account”.<sup>6</sup>

In a third article, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of the same year (1929), we read that for the handling of Jewish affairs there was a “curious mixed arrangement by which, though receipts from Jewish sources passed through the ordinary machinery of the lower Exchequer, there was apparently no recognised organisation for audit. In these circumstances a special *Scaccarium Judaeorum* . . . dealt with *most of the financial business, other than that of actual receipt*, and at the same time acted as a court [judicial]”.<sup>7</sup>

Finally in a fourth reference, in 1932, in the introduction to his volume of *Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas*, Mr. Jenkinson appears to question his earlier position somewhat with regard to the description of Jewish exchequer records, but the reference is exceedingly brief, and his present opinion does not emerge clearly.<sup>8</sup>

The foregoing summary of Mr. Jenkinson’s discussions shows, it seems to me, that the whole matter is left in a state of high uncertainty. We are somewhat unsure about Mr. Jenkinson’s own final opinion—unsure necessarily, therefore, as to the facts of the case. That the Jewish exchequer was in some obscure way connected with accounts or receipts or possibly both, so much appears. But how? Directly or only indirectly? If directly, are we then to assume that the several types of financial records discussed by Mr. Jenkinson in 1912 are after all Jewish exchequer records? And how is this possible in the face of the evidence he has offered to the contrary? In short, we revert to an old problem: what were the functions of the Jewish exchequer?

There are in the calendar volumes of Jewish exchequer rolls numerous references, not always clear, to the actual handling of Jewish revenue. In the second volume, for example, of a total of approximately 1614 entries, something like 469 relate directly to collection or payment of sums to the king or accounts made for these; among these entries are 13 or 14 lists, long or short and including about 335 entries, recording payments made, moneys due, mandates for collection, etc. This figure

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, III, xlix.

<sup>7</sup> 14th ed., VIII, 952. The italics are mine.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. xviii-xix.

excludes trials where the king is demandant in a case of disputed accountability for debts fallen into his hands (for these would necessarily appear as judicial matter) but includes a number of mandates for collection probably based on such suits—a fact, it should be noted, which would probably justify their appearance in these rolls even if we suppose the Jewish exchequer to have been unconcerned with the collection of revenue. Moreover, some memoranda whose nature is not clear may possibly be incidental to such financial lawsuits. But even making these allowances, we are left with a class of material the presence of which in these rolls requires explanation. Although casual and incomplete, as Mr. Jenkinson has observed, it cannot be ignored. A more detailed examination of it may offer some hints.

Lists and isolated entries record the payment of money, usually petty amounts for fines, etc., but sometimes larger sums. The payments are made by sheriffs or sometimes by individual debtors to the king. Often no mention is made of the place of payment,<sup>9</sup> but more frequently payment is said to be “in the Wardrobe”,<sup>10</sup> “in the Treasury”,<sup>11</sup> or—and this most commonly—“in the King’s Receipt”.<sup>12</sup> Were these payments made entirely apart from the officers of the Jewish exchequer and the latter merely notified of them afterwards because of some special interest? This would seem possible were it not that in a number of cases where payment is made in the receipt, it is stated as being made to Nigel, sergeant of the Jewish exchequer,<sup>13</sup> or to the Jewish justices themselves,<sup>14</sup> or to some one justice whose name is given.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes payment is made “to the Justices in the Treasury”.<sup>16</sup> It is clear then that on some occasions the officers of the Jewish exchequer actually received payments of money.

A phrase requiring examination appears in the case of one who “came before, etc., and paid, *una vice*, in the Exchequer of Receipt”.<sup>17</sup> This “came before, etc.” (*venit coram etc.*) recurs repeatedly and in various connections throughout the calendar volumes, and it seems al-

<sup>9</sup> E.g., *Cal. Plea Rolls*, I, 101-102, II, 109-10, 112-13, 154.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 92.      <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 255, 297, II, 43, 59, 102, 113, 162-63, 277, III, 113; *Select Pleas*, pp. 77, 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, II, 12, 61, 62-63, 242-43.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 261, 264, II, 13, 48, 102, 103.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 194, 196, 202; *Select Pleas*, p. 35. In this article a “justice” will always mean a “justice of the Jews” unless it is otherwise specified. In this I follow the use of the Jewish exchequer plea rolls, and no confusion need arise since officers of the great exchequer are always called collectively “barons”.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, II, 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 295.

ways to mean "before the justices of the Jews", as is established by its expansion several times. We have such expressions as: "so that he have the moneys before, etc., on . . . [a certain day] to deliver to the Justices".

In a good many cases of the sort just mentioned it is not clear whether "before, etc." means before the justices alone or before the justices together with some (or all) of the officers of the great exchequer. Further light is thrown upon this point by the use made of another common phrase, "in full Exchequer". An example of this is: "the said Peter has come before, etc., and paid into the King's Receipt the said 18s . . . [and] the charter for the same . . . is delivered to him in full Exchequer quit and cancelled".<sup>18</sup> The meaning of this entry seems to be that Peter made his payment in the king's receipt in the presence of the justices of the Jews, and likewise (for transfer or cancellation of charters was the duty of the justices) that the charter was given him in a session of the great exchequer with the Jewish justices present. In one case the entry is explicit on this second point: charters are "cancelled by the Justices in full Exchequer".<sup>19</sup> And in one instance "divers writs were delivered to the . . . Sheriff in full Exchequer by the Justices, as the Justices recorded".<sup>20</sup> This entry is of great importance, for it shows not only that the justices of the Jews were present and active in a session of the full exchequer but also that they could and did take records of proceedings enacted at such sessions. This digresses, however, from the matter of actual receipt of revenue by the justices, a few more instances of which process ought to be examined.

A mandate by king's writ, for example, went to the sheriffs of Essex and Kent to levy of the goods and chattels of a certain bishop a sum owing to the king upon account of a Jewish debt. The sheriffs were to have the sum in the wardrobe on a given day to deliver to the keeper. Thus far this entry, like a great many others almost identical with it, would seem to support the idea that actual payment will be made apart from the justices of the *Scaccarium Judeorum*, while the only problem presenting itself would be the question of explaining why the enrollment should be made in these particular records. But there is more to this entry. It is stated that after failure of the sheriffs to return or acknowledge the writ, "they are in mercy; and mandate to them that they have the said moneys, levied as aforesaid, before the Justices on . . . [a certain day] to deliver to the said Justices without further delay".<sup>21</sup> What can this mean? Why should a levy when not paid as ordered into the king's wardrobe be called, upon second mandate, before the

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 41-42.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 161.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 149.

justices? The record is explicit: payment was to be made actually to the justices. And presently we find repeated this same mandate for payment "to the Justices",<sup>22</sup> while among the starrs (*i.e.*, the acquittances for debts) of the same term is a note that the bishop appeared before the justices, recording the termination of the suit against him (as surety for a Jewish debt fallen into the king's hand), provision being made for yearly payments "at the Exchequer of the Jews".<sup>23</sup>

It is clear that in this case the form of the original mandate would have given no hint that payment, although ordered to be made apart from the Jewish exchequer (in this case in the wardrobe for delivery to the keeper), was in fact, while still "levied as aforesaid", to be paid to the justices of the Jewish exchequer. One cannot but ask what was to happen in all the many cases where we have only the simple mandate and sheriffs did not obligingly default for us.

Although private individuals occasionally appear making payments, it is most frequently some sheriff or sheriffs who make the levies, who pay or are mandated to pay. A sheriff is to put the king in seisin of property come into his hand, to cause an extent of it to be made, and thereafter to answer for the rent yearly "at the Exchequer of the Jews".<sup>24</sup> The sheriff of Nottinghamshire pays in the king's receipt one amount on tallage account of a certain Jew and other amounts on debts.<sup>25</sup> On change of sheriffs in Wiltshire the retiring officer is ordered to cause all summonses touching debts in Jewry owing to the king or to the Lord Edward to be delivered to the appointee and himself to "be before the Justices, etc., at Westminster on . . . [a certain day] with all the moneys, etc."<sup>26</sup> Yet the sheriffs offered the Jewish revenues which they collected, as Mr. Jenkinson has convincingly demonstrated, as part of their regular proffer.<sup>27</sup> We are faced with a contradiction unless we suppose that the justices actually sat in session with the great exchequer when such proffers were made. This suggestion accords with the evidence already brought forward which showed that justices were sometimes present with the "full Exchequer".

There is further evidence in the following statement that the justices acted in close co-operation with the treasurer of the great exchequer in the levies of some taxes: "Philippo Luvell Thesaurio, et Justiciarijs Judeorum; Rex mandat eisdem quod omnimode districtione qua fieri

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153. See also III, 267.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 222.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 150.

<sup>27</sup> See Madox, I, 232, quoting Pas. Adventus 15 Edward I, Rot. 24 a: "Lincoln. Vicecomes venit . . . et tulit . . . [the amount]: De quibus CLxvj l de firma et xxv l xv s viij d de Summonitione Scaccarij Judaecorum, et residuum de alijs Summonitionibus."

poterit, sine dilatione distringant Judaeos Angliae, ad solvendo ei quinque mille marcas, mittandas ad Regem in Wasconiam . . . Breve liberatum est Justiciarijs Judaeorum".<sup>28</sup> With regard to the payment to Edmund, earl of Cornwall, of the large debt contracted by Henry III to his father, Edward sends a writ to the justices of the Jews providing that "satisfaction be made to the said Edmund upon executory account out of the first issues of our Jewry, to wit, as well tallages . . . as arrears of tallage . . . and all other profits yielded by them save tallage of the dead, so that he receive all the said issues until he have received thereout the said 2000 marks in full . . . We bid you cause it to be so done".<sup>29</sup> Although it may not be clear from this writ in exactly what way the money will come into Edmund's hands, it is clear that the justices will play a controlling part in this collection, and not only in the receipt but also apparently in the disbursement of the sums.

There are a few more scant but interesting references to the disposal of funds by the Jewish justices. The king came into possession of his regular third part of the property of a deceased Jew, "which moneys the said . . . [names given] paid to the Justices, to deliver to certain merchants of London by order of the King".<sup>30</sup> Again, a sheriff is ordered to distrain for payment to the king "so that he have all the said moneys before, etc., on . . . [a certain day], to do therewith as the King by his Justices shall direct".<sup>31</sup> Again, the king commands the justices to levy certain debts "that were in our Treasury" and turn them over to Alexander Huse, "to whom we have granted them".<sup>32</sup>

More often, however, revenues are paid into the lower exchequer, or perhaps into the wardrobe, in which case the justices would presumably have nothing to do with their disbursement. There are numerous examples of such payment. Or in the rare cases where the justices receive payments apart from the great exchequer, in the *Scaccarium Judeorum* as one supposes, they seem to have turned them over to the receipt or the wardrobe. Once a sum is given Nigel, sergeant of the Jewish exchequer, "for payment in the King's Receipt".<sup>33</sup> And in the chancery enrollments we find acknowledgments that the Jewish justices have delivered to the keeper of the wardrobe specified amounts of the issues of Jewry by the hands of certain of their number.<sup>34</sup>

The occasional mention in the calendar records of accounts or views

<sup>28</sup> Memor. 38 Henry III, Rot. 14 b. in imo., *ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>29</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, II, 24. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 255.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 239.

<sup>34</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1266-72* (London, 1913), p. 191; for identification of the justices, *ibid.*, p. 306, and Gross, p. 50.

of accounts by individual debtors on Jewish account to the king has been noticed by Mr. Jenkinson. Even more interesting than these are the memoranda concerning accounts or views of accounts of Jewish revenue made by the sheriffs. Something certainly very like views of accounts is ordered through the sheriff of Norfolk for the bailiffs of Norwich, who are to be before the justices "to answer touching the King's escheats and their issues".<sup>35</sup> The sheriff of Kent is to "be before, etc. . . . with all the moneys contained in the summonses addressed to him, as well touching debts to the King as touching debts to the King's son Edward, to make his view touching the said debts".<sup>36</sup> Bailiffs are in mercy for failure to appear at the sheriff's view of account to answer for certain debts.<sup>37</sup> Days are given sheriffs for views,<sup>38</sup> or to account or continue accounts.<sup>39</sup> Notes are made stating that certain sheriffs have accounted.<sup>40</sup> Sometimes half a dozen sheriffs are given days, in one list.<sup>41</sup> We have the interesting detail that a sheriff pays "by one tally, the several debts being distinguished in the Great Roll".<sup>42</sup>

In 1273 writs go to twenty-nine sheriffs requiring all who had been in office since 50 Henry III to come "before our Justices assigned to the custody of the Jews . . . with all the summonses received by them from the Exchequer of the Jews for levying of debts in Jewry due to our said father, to render account thereof".<sup>43</sup> The present sheriffs are to be there too. Unhappily, the record tells nothing of the appearance of the sheriffs, except for one who is given a day and does not reappear, so far as we can tell. It would be strange if this comprehensive audit of the king's Jewish revenues undertaken by Edward in the first year of his reign should have been lightly abandoned. Possibly, for exchequer offices could operate slowly, the accounts appear in the later plea-memoranda rolls not yet published, *i.e.*, those for the years after 1277. Or perhaps (and is it not more likely?) the accounting took place before the great exchequer and would have to be sought out in its records, also unpublished.<sup>44</sup> If this were the case and the justices were

<sup>35</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, I, 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 174.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 193, 256, II, 174, 272, III, 51, 52, 93, 203-204, 312-13.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 51, 52; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1272-1307* (London, 1911), p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. Plea Rolls*, II, 272.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>44</sup> In illustration of the closeness of relationship between the justices of the Jews and the barons of the great exchequer note the following references:

"Memorandum that whereas Gilbert de Kyrkeby, Sheriff, had this present day for accounting, as appears among the Memoranda of Easter term last past, and also the same [Gilbert] was told in the Great Exchequer before the Justices, concerning his account in the same place that term, not to depart until he had accounted . . . [he] departed in



sitting with the other officers of the great exchequer to account, it would be natural for them to enter in their memoranda roll the note concerning the day set for one sheriff whose account was, perhaps, postponed. These conjectures could be verified by examination of unpublished records. But whatever befell the audit, it is highly significant to the question under discussion that it was ordered to be made before the justices of the *Scaccarium Judeorum*.

One last group of three references introduces a new question concerning the handling of Jewish receipts and accounts. They are from memoranda of the great exchequer and are quoted by the ever-valuable Madox:

Rex mandat Baronibus quod ad certum diem quem duxerint assignandum, audiant compotum Justiciorum ad custodiarum Judaorum assignatorum, de exitibus ejusdem Judaismi, a tempore quo Rex dictis Justiciarijs custodiam . . . ejusdem Judaismi commisit . . . Mandatum est enim eisdem Justiciarijs, quod ad diem quem Barones eis scire facient, coram eis accedant cum Rotulis, talijs, et alijs compotum suum tangentibus, ad compotum suum reddendum in forma praedicta . . .<sup>45</sup>

The second reference is a few years later in date: [Fulk Peyforer and others] "manuceperunt coram Baronibus [that he will appear] ad reddendum compotum suum de exitibus Judaismi, de tempore quo fuit Justiciarius Judaismi".<sup>46</sup> An almost identical entry notes the main-prize for William de Thurlaeston, another justice. A third piece of evidence is a membrane from the earliest surviving memoranda roll (1 John), which is devoted entirely to Jewish business; this record has been discussed by Mr. Jenkinson in support of his thesis that Jewish revenues were handled through the ordinary channels of the great exchequer.<sup>47</sup> His inference is of course quite correct; but another equally important one may be drawn from this membrane, viz., that

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contempt . . . [and] is in mercy" (*ibid.*, III, 204; the italics are mine).

In another instance two ex-sheriffs "came before, etc. and rendered their account and paid divers moneys by talleys which are in the Treasury and are allowed in the Great Roll" (*ibid.*, p. 52).

Again, the treasurer and barons are ordered to cause enrollment to be made when the king grants the late sheriff of Gloucester attornment of 100s., "at which he was amerced before . . . justices appointed to the custody of the Jews, for not suing for licence from them to withdraw after the rendering of his account before them for the time when he was sheriff" (*Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272-1307*, p. 190).

<sup>45</sup> Mich. Communia 52, incip. 53 Henry III, Rot. 4 a, Madox, I, 252.

<sup>46</sup> Trin. Communia 56 Henry III, Rot. 7 a, *ibid.*, pp. 252-53.

<sup>47</sup> "Records of Exchequer Receipts", Jewish Hist. Soc., *Trans.*, VIII, 52-53, and "Financial Records of the Reign of John", *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, ed. by Henry Elliot Malden, Royal Historical Society (London, 1917), pp. 276-77.

since the individual who accounts for Jewish revenues before the barons is Benedict de Talemunt, a justice of the Jews, we are shown that not only the great exchequer but also the Jewish exchequer was involved in these acts of receipt and accounting. Somewhere, either apart from or in session with the barons, Benedict received the moneys for which he is here accounting. In other words, as early as 1 John we find a justice of the Jewish exchequer acting as an officer of receipt and accounting, in close co-operation with the officials of the great exchequer.

Some problems still remain concerning the exact methods employed by the Jewish exchequer in fulfilling its financial function, but from the various evidence offered in this article several facts become clear. The justices of the Jews received money not only from individual debtors to the king but also from sheriffs, and many of the references to such receipts indicate the closest co-operation between the justices and the officers of the great exchequer. In numerous cases the justices heard accounts or views of accounts not merely of individual debtors but also of sheriffs. Here once more is apparent a very close co-operation between the justices and the barons. Finally, we have seen justices called before the barons to account for revenues from Jewish sources. Surely the final picture of the Jewish exchequer will have to take account of these facts.

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## DOCUMENTS

### THE TWO JOHN NICHOLASES

#### THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON

IMPORTANT among the supporters of Thomas Jefferson was John Nicholas of Virginia, member of Congress from 1793 to 1801. He was a staunch Republican throughout his life and, in fact, held rank along with Albert Gallatin as a leader of the Republicans in the House. Despite this he is often confused with his cousin, John Nicholas of Albemarle County, a Federalist, who was for years clerk of the county court. This confusion is of considerable importance as far as the interpretation of relations between Washington and Jefferson is concerned. It was John Nicholas the Federalist, not John Nicholas the Republican, who accused Jefferson of committing forgery in an attempt to entrap Washington through a letter written over the assumed name of John Langhorne.

The failure to distinguish between the two John Nicholases is a matter of long standing. There are numerous cases in articles in Virginia historical magazines where the distinction is not made.<sup>1</sup> The Memorial Edition of Jefferson's works<sup>2</sup> and Hugh Blair Grigsby's *The History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788*<sup>3</sup> fail to make it, and the material in the older biographical cyclopedias is not satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand a clear distinction between the two individuals is made in Henry S. Randall's *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*<sup>5</sup> and in the genealogical work by Louise Pecquet du Bellet.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> References in E. G. Swem, *Virginia Historical Index* (Roanoke, 1936), II, 317. The index itself distinguishes between the two John Nicholases, but many of the references cannot be classified as between the two. The date of birth given for the congressman is incorrect. For other contemporary John Nicholases also see this index.

<sup>2</sup> (Washington, 1903-1904), vol. XX, index.

<sup>3</sup> (Richmond, 1890-91), II, 306.

<sup>4</sup> While the material in these is generally correct, the dates given for the birth of the congressman probably spring from this confusion. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), p. 1357, where 1757 is given; Ben: Perley Poore, *The Political Register and Congressional Directory* (Boston, 1878), p. 551; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), IV, 461; and *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1888), IV, 511. The last two give 1761 as the date of birth.

<sup>5</sup> (New York, 1858), II, 373.

<sup>6</sup> *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (Richmond, 1907), II, 310 ff.

Recently the scope of the question has been expanded by two writers. T. P. Abernethy in the *Dictionary of American Biography* presents the two as a single individual and accounts for the supposed change of John Nicholas from Republicanism to Federalism by his growing distrust of Jefferson.<sup>7</sup> This interpretation analyzes the issue as one in which serious charges are presented to Washington by an erstwhile lieutenant and confidant of Jefferson. Were this the case, the charges against Jefferson would be serious indeed. Another writer, John C. Fitzpatrick, in his biography of Washington, treats the Langhorne question upon the authority of John Nicholas without identifying Nicholas or presenting evidence as to his character. He says:

If anything more were needed to show the inexcusable Jeffersonian deceit and contemptible methods, it is furnished by the John Langhorne letter. This, in a feigned handwriting, is still among the Washington Manuscripts and Mr. John Nicholas's account of having seen Thomas Jefferson's servant call for and receive at the Charlottesville post-office, a letter addressed in Washington's handwriting to Mr. John Langhorne, is conclusive enough evidence. Forgery for the purpose of tricking Washington . . . was not an honorable or even justifiable action.<sup>8</sup>

In view of the confusion surrounding this whole question, it is desirable first to disentangle the two John Nicholases. The Nicholas family was prominent in Virginia Revolutionary history. The founder was Dr. George Nicholas, a former surgeon in the British navy, who moved from Lancashire, England, to Virginia. About 1722 he married Elizabeth Carter, the widow of Major Nathaniel Burwell. In 1728 his first son, Robert Carter Nicholas, was born. There were also two other sons, John Nicholas and George Nicholas. This John Nicholas, of the second generation, was known as John Nicholas of Seven Islands. He married Martha Fry of Williamsburg, Virginia, and removed to Albemarle County.<sup>9</sup> There he became clerk of the county court, holding this office from 1750 until 1792. He spent the rest of his life in Buckingham County, just south of Albemarle. Upon his retirement as clerk of the court he was succeeded by his son, also named John Nicholas.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> XIII, 483-84. I am indebted to Dr. Dumas Malone, Dr. Harris E. Starr, and the current staff of the *Dictionary of American Biography* for a careful reading and checking of the original manuscript of this article, for the correction of three minor errors of fact, and for suggestions of several additional pertinent citations. Not all of these suggestions, however, have been incorporated in this article, and naturally I alone am responsible for the interpretation of the material presented.

<sup>8</sup> *George Washington Himself* (Indianapolis, 1933), pp. 503-504.

<sup>9</sup> Pecquet du Bellet, II, 310 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Edgar Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1901), pp. 289-90.

It is this John Nicholas who was the cousin of the congressman and who has been the cause of the confusion.

The more prominent branch of the family was that which was headed by the elder brother, Robert Carter Nicholas. He was for many years treasurer of the colony and was active throughout the Revolution. He married Anne Cary in 1752 and had five sons: John Nicholas, member of Congress; George Nicholas, governor of Kentucky and connected with Jefferson in the framing of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; Wilson Cary Nicholas, governor of Virginia and United States senator; Lewis Nicholas; and Philip Norborne Nicholas, attorney general of Virginia, a judge of the general court and connected with the defense of Callender, prosecuted in 1800 under the Sedition Act.<sup>11</sup>

This John Nicholas (son of Robert Carter) was born probably in 1763 or 1764 in Westmoreland County.<sup>12</sup> He married Anne Lawson, daughter of Gavin Lawson of Stafford County, Virginia, and by her had eleven children.<sup>13</sup> He was elected as a representative to Congress and served as such continuously from 1793 to 1801. He was an ardent supporter of Thomas Jefferson and participated in the controversies of the period. In 1795 he wrote a series of articles on Jay's Treaty which strongly opposed ratification.<sup>14</sup>

In the House Nicholas was as outspoken as any of the Republicans. At the time he is declared to have turned Federalist,<sup>15</sup> he was actually leading the debate against Federalist measures. In May of 1797 he was battling against the foreign policy of the Federalist party, holding that it favored England and discriminated against France.<sup>16</sup> Again, in January of 1798 he was taunting the Federalists for having all the Tories among their supporters and for being tainted by Tory principles.<sup>17</sup> These are only typical of other examples which might be cited. The fact is, Nicholas was one of the most vehement and fluent of debaters. He became anathema to the Federalists, their press calling his conduct "disgraceful".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Pecquet du Bellet, II, 310-15.

<sup>12</sup> Orin Clark, *A Funeral Address delivered at the Interment of the Hon. John Nicholas, on Sunday the 2d Day of January, 1820, in Trinity Church, Geneva [N. Y.]*; also see *Niles Register*, XVII, 351, Jan. 22, 1820; and *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1820. The date of birth was not 1756 as given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>13</sup> Pecquet du Bellet, II, 316.

<sup>14</sup> "Reflections on Mr. Jay's Treaty" [signed "Decius"], in Mathew Carey's *The American Remembrancer* (Philadelphia, 1795 [-96]), II, 118-40 and 154-59.

<sup>15</sup> Abernethy, *Dict. Am. Biog.*

<sup>16</sup> *Annals of Congress*, VII, 150.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 929.

<sup>18</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, May 13, 1799.

As a speaker Nicholas gained a considerable reputation. His speech advocating repeal of the Sedition Act was published in 1799 as a Republican pamphlet. Among addresses of the period it was chosen by Alexander Johnston, along with speeches by Fisher Ames and Albert Gallatin, for inclusion in his *Representative American Orations*. Another speech of Nicholas's attracted so much attention that Robert Goodloe Harper, one of the most energetic of the Federalists, thought it necessary to reply, singling out Nicholas and Gallatin as the leaders of the opposition.<sup>19</sup> In the House Nicholas was often chosen to lead or conclude the Republican side of a debate. Moreover, he was frequently successful as a strategist in making the Republican motions which gained the greatest number of votes. His position appears to have been analogous to that of floor leader today.<sup>20</sup>

During these years Nicholas was a resident of Stafford County, but in addition to this county his congressional district included Fauquier and Culpeper.<sup>21</sup> Apparently he served in Congress at considerable sacrifice. He attempted to retire at the close of the Fifth Congress, in 1799, but no satisfactory Jeffersonian could be found to replace him. He therefore stood for election again, with the result that the Federalists of the district made a determined but unsuccessful campaign to defeat him.<sup>22</sup> At the close of the Sixth Congress, having served four terms as representative, Nicholas followed his plan of retiring. The reason for his removal from Virginia appears to have been entirely financial—"the claims of an increasing family".<sup>23</sup> In 1803 he moved to New York, settling in Geneva, Ontario County. He died on the last day of December, 1819, at the age of 56 or 57.<sup>24</sup> Toward the end of his life Nicholas

<sup>19</sup> *The Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the United States, with respect to . . . repeal of the Alien and Sedition Laws . . . and the speeches of Messrs. Gallatin and Nicholas . . .* (Philadelphia, 1799). Also Alexander Johnston, *Representative American Orations* (fifth edition, New York, 1927), I (pt. I), 131-43. The pamphlet by Harper is *Mr. Harper's Speech on the Foreign Intercourse Bill in reply to Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Gallatin, and Others* (Boston, Apr., 1798; delivered on Mar. 2, 1798), pp. 22-32.

<sup>20</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses, *passim*. This statement is based on a reading of the *Annals* between 1789 and 1803 for another study. The opinion here expressed regarding Nicholas was formed before this article was even contemplated.

<sup>21</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, May 6, 1799; *Fredericksburg Virginia Herald*, Feb. 19, 22, 26, 1799.

<sup>22</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, May 6, 1799; *Fredericksburg Virginia Herald*, Apr. 26, 1799.

<sup>23</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 15, 1820. There is no evidence to support the statement in the *Dictionary of American Biography* that this retirement was due to a split with Jefferson.

<sup>24</sup> Clark, *passim*; *Niles Register*, Jan. 22, 1820, XVII, 351; *National Intelligencer*,

noted with satisfaction the approaching death of the Federalist party. Almost the only question on which he appears to have changed his political opinion was that of a navy. The War of 1812 convinced him that his original stand in the House on this issue had been wrong.<sup>25</sup>

The other John Nicholas, of Albemarle County, had a more spotted career. He was apparently born in Buckingham County about 1757 or 1758. At the age of seventeen he served in the Revolution and was made a captain in 1777. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel in 1780, and at the time of Arnold's invasion of Virginia in 1780-81 he was placed by Jefferson, then governor, in charge of the militia around Richmond.<sup>26</sup> From this point the title of colonel will be used to distinguish him from his cousin, the congressman. Upon the retirement of his father as clerk of Albemarle County in 1792, he succeeded to the office,<sup>27</sup> serving until 1815, when he retired, like his father, to Buckingham County.<sup>28</sup> He held considerable property in Albemarle.<sup>29</sup> Colonel Nicholas married Louisa Carter shortly after he had taken up his residence in Charlottesville. At that time Jefferson knew him well enough to comment on the marriage.<sup>30</sup> With the rise of political parties, Colonel Nicholas associated himself with the Federalists. In 1799 he decided to offer himself for Congress in opposition to Samuel J. Cabell, the Jeffersonian who represented the district. The Federalists held strong hopes for his election, but he was defeated.<sup>31</sup>

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Jan. 14, 1820; *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 15, 1820. The last reference alone gives the date of death as January 1, 1820. *Niles* and the *Intelligencer* give the age at death as 56. Also see L. C. Aldrich, *History of Ontario County, N. Y.* (Syracuse, 1893), p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> John Nicholas to Wilson Cary Nicholas, Geneva, Mar. 14, 1815, *Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers* (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), IV, 931-34.

<sup>26</sup> John Nicholas, *The Statement and Substance of a Memorial, &c. of John Nicholas, presented to the Virginia Legislature 1819-1820: Now addressed to them at the Opening of their Session in December, 1820* (Richmond, 1820), pp. 5, 6. In the *Dictionary of American Biography* this memorial and the military career are attributed to Congressman John Nicholas. A reading of the memorial shows that it was written after his death in Geneva, New York, on the last day of 1819. Also see John Q. James, "Arnold's Picket Line", *Sons of the Revolution of the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine*, III (July, 1924), 15-23; *Official Letter of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, ed. by H. R. McIlwaine (Richmond, 1928), II, 269, 270, 288, 370; J. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914), p. 413; Carlos E. Godfrey, *The Commander-in-Chief's Guard: Revolutionary War* (Washington, 1904), p. 220.

<sup>27</sup> *Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, V, 541; also, Woods, pp. 289-90.

<sup>28</sup> Woods, p. 290. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Jefferson to William Short, Paris, Feb. 9, 1789, *William and Mary Historical Quarterly* (ser. 2), XII, 149. See also page 288.

<sup>31</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Apr. 13, 1799; *Fredericksburg Virginia Herald*, May 21, 1799. The district in question consisted of Amherst, Nelson, Fluvanna, Albemarle, and



Colonel Nicholas was a man of peculiar character. Perhaps the best picture of him is presented by R. T. W. Dabney, jr.:

He was a man of energy and systematic business habits, but of great curiosity, and with a decided fondness for gossip. It is said that he once succeeded in creating quite a coolness between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Jefferson, which the happy tact of the latter succeeded in overcoming. Governor Thomas Mann Randolph on one occasion challenged the old gentleman for some breeze of Dame Rumor circulated by the old clerk. . . . [Randolph] put a bullet-hole through the old gentleman's hat. They made friends and old Nicholas wore the hat, with the bullet-hole through it, until it was no longer wearable.<sup>32</sup>

There is little doubt, as other incidents show, that Colonel Nicholas was a meddler and a marplot with a genius for intrigue. Jefferson, who was the unhappy subject of much of Nicholas's interest, termed him a "malignant neighbor".<sup>33</sup>

After Jefferson's death this characterization of Nicholas as a "malignant neighbor" appeared in print in Thomas Jefferson Randolph's edition of Jefferson's works.<sup>34</sup> The colonel immediately wrote a rambling communication signed "A Friend of Mr. Jefferson's Merits". The chief purpose of this appears to have been to review his own military career and to offer to the public a general index of Jefferson's works which he had prepared.<sup>35</sup> Again in 1835 he communicated a letter under the heading, "Washington and Jefferson". In this he informed the world, as one of the few surviving friends of both Washington and Jefferson, that he had investigated the reports of Jefferson's disagreeing with Washington politically and that Jefferson, shortly before resigning as Secretary of State, had assured Colonel Nicholas that he regarded

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Goochland counties. At a local meeting in June, 1798, Nicholas had attempted to secure the adoption of a resolution supporting Adams. Maude H. Woodfin, "Contemporary Opinion in Virginia of Thomas Jefferson", *Essays in Honor of W. E. Dodd*, ed. by A. O. Craven (Chicago, 1935), p. 54.

<sup>32</sup> F. Johnston, *Memorials of Old Virginia Clerks* (Lynchburg, 1888), p. 27. See also Jefferson to Monroe, Monticello, Jan. 8, 1811, *Works of Jefferson* (memorial ed.), XIX, 179; James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, Albemarle, Dec. 24, 1810, and Richmond, Jan. 21, 1811, *Writings of James Monroe*, ed. by Stanislaus M. Hamilton (New York, 1898-1903), V, 158, 160.

<sup>33</sup> Randall, II, 373.

<sup>34</sup> *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, 1829), IV, 453.

<sup>35</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Nov. 12, 1830. There is also a reference in Randall (II, 373, n. 3). Because of other charges made by Lee against Jefferson, P. L. Ford in his edition of Jefferson's works (New York, 1904, I, 183) erroneously identifies the reference as one to Henry Lee.

Washington as a very great man.<sup>36</sup> The colonel appears to have been active in pressing a pension claim against the State of Virginia. In 1820 he had been most verbose in a petition to the legislature.<sup>37</sup> In 1831 the matter was under consideration.<sup>38</sup> He appeared on the pension rolls in 1835 and died in the following year.<sup>39</sup>

It is against this background that the Langhorne incident should properly be considered. The first move was the sending of an elaborate and flowery letter to Washington, signed with the fictitious name of John Langhorne. It was headed "Warren, Albemarle County, September 25, 1797". Expressing great regret for the political attacks upon Washington, the writer assured him of his own high regard for the retired President.<sup>40</sup> Washington wrote a cautious but courteous reply in which he assured Langhorne that the Federalist policies deserved no attack.<sup>41</sup>

At this point Colonel John Nicholas wrote Washington that he had heard of the presence of the latter's letter to Langhorne in the Charlottesville post office and that he had sought to deliver it to a person of that name in an adjoining county. To his surprise he had found that the letter had been demanded from the post office by "a *certain character* in this County, closely connected with some of your greatest and bitterest enemies, as being intended for *him*, tho' his name was very different indeed from Langhorne". In view of this knowledge Colonel Nicholas branded the Langhorne letter as a forgery. He next invited himself to visit Washington. He hinted at other villainies with which he was acquainted. These he would reveal upon reaching Mount Vernon.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Oct. 23, 1835. Also see Randall, II, 373. But compare these statements with Nicholas's letter to Washington of February 22, 1798, printed below, pp. 351-53.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholas, *Memorial*, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> *Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, X, 572.

<sup>39</sup> J. H. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the American Revolution* (Hot Springs, 1913), p. 251; Heitman, p. 413; Godfrey, p. 220.

<sup>40</sup> *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. by Jared Sparks (New York, 1847-52), XI, 501. The original is in the Washington MSS. (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Vol. 285.

<sup>41</sup> *Writings of Washington* (Sparks), XI, 218. The fact that Warren, Albemarle County, was the address of Wilson Cary Nicholas could hardly have been reassuring to Washington. Grigsby, *History of the Virginia Federal Convention*, II, 304.

<sup>42</sup> The entire document is printed below, pp. 348-49. In the *Dictionary of American Biography* the statement is made that this letter to Washington was written by John Nicholas, the member of Congress, and caused Nicholas to break with Jefferson. This is clearly an error. In case there might be doubt as to the identity of the John Nicholas who wrote this letter, an opinion on the handwriting was secured from Mr. Bert C. Farrar, Examiner of Questioned Documents for the U.S. Treasury. He compared this hand-

Washington replied, thanking Nicholas for his information. He indicated that he believed it. He had first taken Langhorne for "a pedant who was desirous of displaying the flowers of his pen". He then asked if Nicholas could become more definite.<sup>43</sup> Nicholas responded with the information that Washington's letter to Langhorne had been requested from the postmaster, Mr. John Scott, by Peter Carr, a favorite nephew of Jefferson, who was living with him. Carr had sent a note to the postmaster, which Nicholas reproduced from memory. Carr was an ardent supporter of Jefferson and did not hold the favorable sentiments toward Washington that were declared in the Langhorne letter. He could only have written such a letter with the intention of trapping Washington into making an indiscreet revelation, which might be used to the political advantage of the Republicans.<sup>44</sup>

The question of the authorship of the Langhorne letter has long been in doubt. It is evident that Randall, Jefferson's biographer, knew but did not give the name.<sup>45</sup> The charge that the Langhorne letter was written by Jefferson has often been made. The fact is that it was written by Carr. A comparison of the manuscript of the Langhorne letter with letters from Carr to Jefferson shows this beyond question.<sup>46</sup>

Peter Carr (1770-1815) was the son of Dabney Carr and Martha Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson's fourth sister.<sup>47</sup> They were married in 1765, and the eldest son, Peter, was Jefferson's favorite nephew. After the death of the father in 1773, Jefferson assumed the direction of his nephew's education.<sup>48</sup> At the time of the Langhorne incident Peter was seventeen or eighteen. The question which naturally arises is: Was the act independent of Jefferson's knowledge, or was it planned by Jefferson and merely executed by Carr? In one sense this is anybody's guess.

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writing with that on letters from the Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers signed by Congressman John Nicholas. He declared in an opinion given on September 8, 1934, that the two handwritings were not by the same person.

<sup>43</sup> Washington to Nicholas, Mount Vernon, Nov. 30, 1797, *Writings of Washington* (Sparks), XI, 220.

<sup>44</sup> See below, pp. 349-50. <sup>45</sup> Randall, II, 373.

<sup>46</sup> Compare Peter Carr to Thomas Jefferson, Carrsbrook, May 7, 1798, Jefferson Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), vol. 103, item 17754, with the original of the Langhorne letter in Washington MSS., vol. 285, Sept. 25, 1797.

<sup>47</sup> R. B. Henry, *Genealogies of the Families of the Presidents* (Rutland, 1935), p. 127. In 1773, when Dabney Carr was only thirty, Jefferson had permitted him to introduce the resolution in the Virginia House of Burgesses which called for the establishment of committees of correspondence. James Miller Leake, *The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1917), pp. 134-35.

<sup>48</sup> Randall, I, 83, 435.

It depends upon the opinion one has of Jefferson's character, the wisdom of the whole scheme, and the validity of Nicholas's charges. Taking these into account, I would acquit Jefferson of complicity. The whole idea of expecting to secure valuable political information through a correspondence with a fictitious character is too naïve. Even if one assumed that Jefferson would have no moral objections to such a plan (which assumption I would not be willing to grant without definite evidence), the idea that a person of his political experience would embark on such a venture is hardly within the realm of possibility. Instead, the whole performance bears the brand of an adolescent imagination. The Langhorne letter is awkward and stilted. The execution of the plan was hardly skillful, exposing as it did Jefferson's nephew as a participant. In summation, the blame should fall upon Carr, who probably was motivated by a wish to contribute some stroke of his own to the political conflict then raging on all sides. Especially in view of the record of his father, who, while still a young man, had participated with Jefferson in the Revolution, might such a plan occur to him.

Nicholas was, by this time, in full glory. His next letter repeated criticisms of Washington which Jefferson had expressed to him in conversation. At this time the controversy over the recall of James Monroe as minister to France had received fuel through the publication of Monroe's *Vindication*. This was sharply critical of Federalist policies and of Washington. Nicholas informed the general of Jefferson's endorsement of its statements. In reply to Washington's invitation Nicholas said that he would visit Mount Vernon in the spring.<sup>49</sup>

At first Washington had not been certain as to who Nicholas was. A tentative identification of him as the clerk of Albemarle Court was made, probably by Dr. David Stuart, who had married the widow of Washington's ward, John Parke Custis. Washington evidently had some doubt as to the good faith of Nicholas, for he wrote, "the political conduct of all those of that name whom I do know, adds nothing to my esteem of them". Under these circumstances he sent to Bushrod Washington a letter he had written to Nicholas on March 8, 1798, with instructions "to forward or return [it] to me".<sup>50</sup> Washington was thoroughly indignant but realized that there were gaps in Nicholas's story. Nicholas was anxious to publish the entire correspondence, but Washington

<sup>49</sup> See below, pp. 351-53.

<sup>50</sup> Washington to Bushrod Washington, Mar. 8, 1798, *Writings of George Washington*, ed. by Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1889-93), XIII, 448.

thought that unless the whole incident could be traced to Jefferson it would be better not to embark upon what would evidently be a bitter controversy.<sup>51</sup> At one stage he consulted with John Marshall and Bushrod Washington. Having accepted, however, a call to military service in anticipation of war with France, Washington abandoned active direction of the affair. His last comment came in December when he wrote to Bushrod: "Has anything been done, and what, with my correspondent Mr. Langhorne? I have heard since my return from Philadelphia that there has been some stirring matter, but of the result I am ignorant".<sup>52</sup> That was apparently the last of the matter until the publication of the Langhorne letter by Sparks almost forty years later in his edition of the writings of Washington.

The Langhorne incident ended whatever remaining friendly sentiment Washington may have had for Jefferson. It came just at the most heated point which politics had reached in the new republic. In view of the feeling at the time as to political opposition, that it bordered on treason and that a genuinely honest person could not hold views widely divergent from those of an honorable administration (feelings not entirely peculiar to 1798), the complete estrangement of Washington and Jefferson was probably inevitable in any event. Such a period of tension as that precipitated by the X.Y.Z. affair, the Alien and Sedition Laws, and all the accompanying debate, would naturally produce a serious misunderstanding between the two. The Langhorne letter, however, placed this feeling on a plane of personal bitterness. Washington declared to Nicholas concerning Jefferson: "Nothing short of the evidence which you have adduced, corroborative of intimations which I had received long before through another channel, could have shaken my belief in a friendship, which I had conceived was possessed for me by the person to whom you allude."<sup>53</sup>

Today it is possible to consider the Langhorne question more objectively than Washington was able to do in the heated atmosphere of 1798. For this an understanding of the character of Colonel John Nicholas is necessary, and certainly he must be distinguished from his cousin. On the one hand, the character and abilities of John Nicholas, the member of Congress, should be recognized. Among his contem-

<sup>51</sup> Washington to Bushrod Washington, Aug. 12, 1798, *Writings of Washington* (Sparks), XI, 289.

<sup>52</sup> Same to same, Aug. 27, 1798, *ibid.*, p. 292; same to same, Dec. 31, 1798, *Writings of Washington* (Ford), XIV, 134.

<sup>53</sup> Mount Vernon, Mar. 8, 1798, *Writings of Washington* (Sparks), XI, 226.

poraries he was considered outstanding as a debater and floor leader in the House. On the other hand, Colonel John Nicholas should be recognized as the marplot which he certainly was.

MANNING J. DAUER.

*University of Florida.*

COLONEL JOHN NICHOLAS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON <sup>54</sup>

I

Charlottesville November 18<sup>th</sup> 1797.

*Dear Sir/*

A few weeks ago a letter came to the Warren Post-Office in this County (Albemarle) from you, directed to "*M<sup>r</sup> Langhorne*;" where it lay some days, unclaimed and unsought for. Hearing it mentioned, I concluded it was intended for an old Gen<sup>l</sup> of that name in an adjoining county, who, I believe has been engaged, in some capacity or another, in what was called Braddock's war; and had it taken up by a friend to be conveyed accordingly. To my great surprise however, I am just informed to-day that it has been sent for and demanded by a *certain character* in this County, closely connected with some of your greatest and bitterest enemies, as being intended for *him*, tho' his name was very different indeed from *Langhorne*; acknowledging at the same time that he had written to you a few weeks ago under that signature—the contents or facts of which correspondence I know nothing—tho' the singularity of the circumstances attending the demand of the letter, & the *quarter* from whence it came (altho' nothing to me from *that quarter* is now astonishing) determined me to address you. The only conclusion I can draw from this strange circumstance, is, that *certain men* who are resolved to stick at nothing to promote their wicked & inglorious views, have fallen on this last miserable deceptive means, among their other *hypocritical* practices to intrap you; or, that their suspicions of the views of others from a knowledge of the secrets of their own, had even carried them to the unjustifiable and scandalous lengths of violating the seals of private correspondence, in hopes of finding out State secrets favourable to their schemes. Having positive proofs of the above facts, I determined to write you, and put you on your guard against such fictitious correspond<sup>ts</sup>, if any such have written to you, or to shew you what danger your *private* letters have to encounter, in *this quarter*, if you have had no such late correspondent. As for the same reason, however, I caution you against unbosoming yourself to such correspond<sup>ts</sup> in this *part of the world*, whatever their *professions* or requests may be I cannot ask of you a full explanation of this mysterious business (the drift and contents of which I can only have my suspicions about) I can only expect or wish to have an acknowledgement of the receipt of this, untill I have the opportunity of convincing you *in person* that *mine* is no *fictitious* character; which I am in hopes of having the pleasure of doing some time this winter, as I intend a visit of curiosity and pleasure to Philad<sup>a</sup>, in

<sup>54</sup> The following letters are in the Washington Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Those of November 18 and December 9, 1797, are in Volume 286 and that of February 22, 1798, in Volume 287.

which I shall pay my respects, for the first time, to the family at Mount Vernon.

I should not have troubled you thus far, My D<sup>r</sup> Sir, well knowing how you must be occupied with correspondents of more importance than such as myself, but living where I do, immediately in cannon shot of the very head-quarters of *Jacobinism*, knowing how much you have been deceived in the principles and *professions of friendship of certain characters in this quarter*; and my own knowledge of their *real dispositions*; have determined me thus to hint to you some things which I shall make known more fully when I have the honor of a personal interview. I have frequently tho't of asking from you information on certain subjects of which my particular situation in this part of the Country gives me some knowledge, contrary, I suspect, to the view in which you had been persuaded to hold them; and the circumstance which has now induced me to write, has created suspicions in my mind that the deceptions employed toward you are greater than even I myself from my particular situation *here* had supposed—— But for the reasons above assigned, have never asked from you any information—— If however, after a better knowledge of me, and my *views*, from what I shall say on the subjects above hinted at, you should think proper to satisfy me on one or two points relating to *characters* and *things*, which from my particular situation *here* have fallen immediately within my knowledge, such information will be thankfully received and not improperly applied by

My Dear Gen<sup>l</sup>

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> & sincerely devoted  
friend & very H<sup>le</sup> ser<sup>t</sup>

JOHN NICHOLAS

[On back, endorsed in hand of Washington]

From John Nicholas, Esq<sup>r</sup>

18<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1797

## II

George Washington Esqr.

Charlottesville Dec<sup>r</sup> 9, 1797

Dear Sir/

Your's of the 30th ultimo came safe to hand; and altho', from a view of the papers inclosed, M<sup>r</sup> *Langhorne* was not so *direct* in his scheme for extracting something from you to answer the purposes of *those* to whom I know him to be a servile tool; yet from the fulsome contents of his letter to you, & my knowledge of his sentiments being in direct contradiction to those contained in that letter, his *connexions* &c., at which I hinted before, &c. I have no kind of doubt but that it was intended indirectly to have that effect.

Inclosed is a copy, as nearly as my mem<sup>y</sup> serves me of the note *demanding* your letter to M<sup>r</sup> *Langhorne*, for I have not yet got it from the person to whom it was directed. M<sup>r</sup> *Langhorne*, if you know him not from his *real* name to that note, is a favorite nephew of your *very sincere friend* M<sup>r</sup> *Jefferson*, raised and educated directly by himself from a child, a constant dependent & resident in his house from that period almost to the present; & entertaining sentiments, I do assure you of my own personal knowledge, very different indeed towards *you* from those contained in his letter. These circumstances, & not M<sup>r</sup> *Langhorne's* own consequence, first created my



suspicious & induced me to write to you. Struck as I was at the first sight of the gentleman's note demanding your letter to M<sup>r</sup> Langhorne, with the complexion of this odd correspondence, I requested the gent<sup>n</sup> to whom it was directed, who was a friend of your's & near relation of mine, to preserve it, which I make no doubt he has done and will do untill I again call for it; which I shall take some early opportunity to do, & preserve the whole of the papers, together with your correspondence with me from human sight, untill it shall become necessary to vindicate you against such dark arts as are only to be combatted by exposing the wretched duplicity, and easily overtaken & exposed projects of such shallow & wicked politicians——

The proofs of the facts stated to you respecting the correspondence of M<sup>r</sup> Langhorne, however, whether the note is preserved or not, are sufficiently within my power to be used in any way you may think proper.

I sincerely congratulate you on the liberation of our friend the Marquis La Fayette, about which I hope there can be no doubt now;—— and I thank the Directory of F—— for *once*, if the part w<sup>h</sup> it is said they have taken in that pleasing event be true. I wish there was equal cause to admire them for *all their late acts*; or that we may have just grounds of satisfaction at their conduct towards our envoys now at their court.

Accept Dr. Sir the sincere wishes for the happiness & prosperity of yourself & good lady of

Your faithful friend &c.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

I shall endeavour, if possible without betraying my knowledge of its contents, to discover from what this very extraordinary correspondence of Mr. Langhorne arose & to what it was intended to lead——

J. N

[Endorsed in Washington's handwriting]

From

John Nicholas Esq<sup>r</sup>

9<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1797

[Another page]

A copy, as nearly as can be recollected, of the note referred to in letter to Gen<sup>l</sup> W——

Directed to Mr. I. Scott.

Sir/

I am informed there is a letter in your possession from General Washington to a M<sup>r</sup> Langhorne. I am the only person intitled to that letter, & have expected it for some time—— but had begun to fear, from the delay, it had miscarried. Will thank you therefore to send it by the bearer.

Mr. I. Scott

(signed) PETER CARR

Besides the above, M<sup>r</sup> C—— informed a respectable Gentleman, who first communicated this misterious business to me, that he had written to Gen<sup>l</sup> W—— under the name of Jn<sup>o</sup> Langhorne——

J. N.

[On back]

M<sup>r</sup> John Scott

• New Scotland.

## III

Charlottesville Feb. 22<sup>d</sup> 1798.

Dear Sir/

I wrote you some time ago in answer to your's inclosing the copies of the correspondence with *Mr Langhorne*, that I would use my endeavour in sifting that very extraordinary, and I venture to say, infamous transaction, to the bottom; & now, agreeable to your request, have to inform you, that I have been able (from the nature of the thing) to make no further discovery of the design, than what is plainly discernable from the context & deceptive nature of the transaction itself. I have no doubt but that it was intended to draw from you, something, that might be made to operate to the advantage of others—— and not in your favour. But as you very justly express it, never indeed did a poor pitiful contrivance fall further "short of its mark". I was in hopes that the correspondence would be continued, and explain to you a little more fully the object of the correspondent. For which reason I have observed a profound silence, as I shall do, except to my valuable acquaintance Bush<sup>d</sup> Washington & one other of your best friends, with a view to be informed whether anything further, or of a like cast, had come to their knowledge. But from your silence, & their hearing nothing of the matter, I judge that those pretended friends have been too much discomfited by your first Answer to make a second effort.

In my last, I told you who in reality *Mr Langhorne* was, & which of your *very sincere friends*, it was probable, he was under the guidance of. Besides the clear proofs of the vile hypocrisy of *that man's* professions of friendship towards you, contained in the celebrated letter to Mazzei, he begins now to speak out, in this part of the world, a very different language from what I have formerly heard him express myself, and from what, I suspect, he has been in the habit of expressing to you.—— He is, besides, the open and avowed advocate for the cause of Monroe; his assistant, it is believed here, in the composition of what he is pleased to call "A View of the conduct of the Executive"; and is so weak and prejudiced as to believe, that *that* flimsy effort will overturn the gov<sup>t</sup> of the U. S. In April, after his return from the first Congress in which he had presided over the Senate, which was the last time I had the honor of any *familiar* conversation with him, he observed, that "the distruction of Monroe was premeditated in his appointment, as he was the *centre* round which the *republican* party rallied in the Senate."

This was a conversation which, I confess, was not very agreeable to me at the time; & which, the discovery of the letter to Mazzei, soon after, led me to suspect, was bottomed upon the same delusive ground, which all his professions of friendship and regard towards you had previously been. The opinion which you had formed of the fitness of Monroe's *talents* for the mission, I very much suspected (from the circumstances, & the mistaken opinion which I well knew, besides this expression of his being the great "*centre* of the *republican* party in the Senate", that man entertained on that subject) arose, from your opinion, at that time, of the judgment & sincerity of *him*, who would thus now give to that appointment, a very different, and dishonorable motive. This is one of the pieces of information at which I hinted in a former letter, if your confidence in my motives, when sufficiently ascertained to you, should enable you to intrust me with yo[u]r sentiments.

I have not yet seen Col. Monroe's "*Vindication*", except in scraps, as

they have been shewn me in manuscript, for my approbation, in which state I could not pretend to form an opinion. I very much suspect, however, you will find something of the above ideas of his app<sup>t</sup>, varying a little, perhaps, from the averment of his friend, as the publication will bear the name of his own, to avoid the appearance of vanity.

In short, sir, to say nothing about Col. M——, of whose conduct and “*Vindication*” I have not a sufficient knowledge to form an accurate & just decision, I do not hesitate to say to you, as I do upon all occasions, here, in the very “centre” and stronghold of the other man’s politics, —at the very “rallying point” of his friends and opposers to the gov<sup>t</sup>, that my opinion is entirely altered of him. Under the pretense of great indifference and silence about public measures, I do now know him to be one of the most artful, intriguing, industrious and double-faced politicians in all America. Violent attempts have been & are daily making, by some of his miserable tools, to silence me; since it is easy to perceive, & is already pretty well experienced, that my immediate situation & acquaintance on the same ground where the main root of his popularity stands, operate to its disturbance, & is tending every day to diminish its stren[g]th. *Their* efforts, however, will be in vain, and *their* methods badly calculated, *who* think to silence me by abuse or threats, as long as I think of the gov<sup>t</sup>. & its administration as I have done ever since I became acquainted with either, or as long as *they* shall be so *kind* as to leave me an *existence*.

The opposition to the gov<sup>t</sup>, to use one of their own favourite expressions, is here “systemitized”—— regular plans are formed, and correspondences, the most designing, as you know from the first object of this letter, commenced ag<sup>t</sup> the unsuspecting & unmarshalled friends of gov<sup>t</sup>—— For the foregoing part of this truth examine the petition, & proceedings thereon, from this District to the Assembly of Virg<sup>a</sup>, on the subject of the presentment of Cabell’s letters——<sup>55</sup> What can any candid man say when he is informed that the V——P—— was the contriver of that project!—— the very drawer of that Petition! The very head of that body, who under the nomination of the Executive, have the appointment of the Judges, & of whose undue influence over those Judges, the petition so heavily complains! Who, I say, who will view the very head of that body who have the appointing of the Judges, intriguing & petition—— drawing among the people, to overawe the Judiciary, that will not view *this* as the very “centre” of opposition, the “rallying point,” the head quarters, the everything, of the enemies of the gov<sup>t</sup>, & who, must not feel an alarm at that belief, which the common emotions of resentment & indignation are too slight a punishment for the creation of! This, however, the great man on the Hill shall hear something more about.

<sup>55</sup> Samuel J. Cabell was the Republican representative from the district in which Charlottesville was included. He was in the habit of writing letters to his constituents which were widely copied in the Republican press. Justice Iredell of the United States District Court delivered a charge to the Richmond grand jury which sharply criticized inflammatory letters in the press. Subsequently he denied that he had Cabell in mind. The grand jury, however, presented Cabell. The practice of presentment was usual at this period, extending to cases where there was no violation of law but where there was, in the opinion of the jury, necessity for a law. Philadelphia *Aurora*, May 31, 1797; *Gazette of the United States*, June 5, June 7, July 6, 1797. This was one of the undercurrents resulting in the enactment of the Sedition Law a year later.

That the day we are just about to celebrate, may, in spite of all the acts of such cowardly & underhanded enemies, not only be remembered *even here*, but seen, often, by yourself, in health & prosperity, is D<sup>r</sup> Sir, the sincere prayer of

Your very humble serv<sup>t</sup> &c.

JOHN NICHOLAS

The indisposition of one of my family, has prevented my taking the trip to the north, that I intended, this winter. My friend Governor Wood & myself propose doing ourselves the pleasure of paying our respects to you some time in the spring, together.

J. N.

[Endorsed in Washington's hand]

From

John Nicholas Esq<sup>r</sup>

22<sup>d</sup> Feb. 1798

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World.* By HARRY ELMER BARNES. (New York: Cordon Company. 1937. Pp. xx, 1250. \$4.00.)

Dr. Barnes is one of the challenging writers of this generation. He is principally devoted, I believe, to the attainment of what he might describe as a more scientifically enlightened society; social science and the "new history" are focused in this direction; and if we are to judge by the character, volume, and persistence of his utterances, no "philosopher" of the eighteenth century had firmer faith in the idea of progress. While reviewers have occasionally used rapturous language to acclaim his works, often enough they have decried his superficiality and regarded his scholarship as vulnerable in heel and head.

Confronted now with this formidable volume covering European intellectual history, an average reader like myself may be pardoned if he feels some diffidence about the intellectual journey before him; he may not have the endurance to encompass the number of words alone—well over a half-million; and he will certainly quail and confess inadequacy when asked to say, in a page or so, something both just and revealing as to the content and value of the audacious enterprise. Let it be said immediately, however, that this history promises to serve remarkably well a purpose Dr. Barnes had primarily in mind: it will effectually stimulate and appreciably assist in the critical study of intellectual history in American colleges. Its dogmatism, aggressive tone, and challenging character will not hurt the quick and may awaken the dead among both teachers and students.

Its scheme, the underlying assumptions, and essential parts of its data come primarily from the outlines, lectures, and references of his teacher, James Harvey Robinson, on the history of the European mind. Much of its matter consists of paraphrase, quotation, or compilation from "secondary" books, mostly in English. Granted that even Dr. Barnes with his prodigious energy could hardly write this history completely from original sources or succeed in assimilating the library of pertinent Continental literature, it is nevertheless lamentable that both are so signally neglected. It is surely relevant to ask why a writer who marks and deplores the characteristics of Byzantine "compilations" should resort so often to their procedure, and why one who complains of the humanists' lack of originality and subservience to authority should lean so heavily, so constantly, and even so tiresomely upon a limited number of secondary "authorities".

However arrived at, the book presents an astounding array of learned information and comment. Of particular excellence in my judgment are the pages which treat of literature, art, and music; beginning with chapter x these sections are the work of Walter B. Scott and Edward Hubler, Bernard Myers, and Martin Bernstein, respectively. In Dr. Barnes's own pages on literature his diction exhibits an imaginative power and a charm which are curiously lacking when he writes of the history of science.

Let me escape from generalities, however, upon at least one point of significant interest and enter a protest. Dr. Barnes is an abolitionist when he confronts the conventional historical terms Renaissance and Reformation: "The period from 1450 to 1600 has usually been regarded as an age of highly novel and unique developments; in particular, the so-called Renaissance and Reformation" (p. 546); Burckhardt and Symonds are most to blame for the thesis "that the Middle Ages were a period of uniform stagnation, and that the paralyzing shell or envelope of medievalism was burst asunder by potent forces associated with the new appreciation of classical literature . . ." (p. 549); this approach "is in disrepute among up-to-date historians of our generation" (p. 546). Now it would take many pages to treat fairly the facts, the interpretations, the history of scholarship (including a considerable literature re-enforcing the presentation of the Renaissance in Burckhardt's work) here involved. But this much may be said with some confidence: those who disparage the "conventional" view have seldom taken the trouble to read carefully the pertinent writings of Burckhardt or of Symonds. Rarely to be met with in historiography are the discrimination and restraint of Burckhardt; suffice to note here the opening page of his *Renaissance*, the section on "Morality and Religion", and the fact that whenever he begins his discussion of modern ideas "the first witness to be called is Dante" (pt. ii, ch. 3). And it was John Addington Symonds who wrote: "it must not be imagined that the Renaissance burst suddenly upon the world in the fifteenth century without premonitory symptoms" (*Age of Despots*, p. 7); and "it was now at the beginning of the fourteenth century . . . that the new age at last began" (*ibid.*, p. 9); and "we must be careful not to be carried away by words of our own making. Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution are not separate things, capable of being isolated; they are moments in the history of the human race which we find it convenient to name; while history itself is one and continuous, so that our utmost endeavours to regard some portion of it independently of the rest will be defeated" (*ibid.*, p. 4).

While this book of the "new history" pretends to scorn dogma, whether of ancient, medieval, or more recent vintage, it is remote from being a bible of skepticism. Indeed, I think it is essentially a book of faith. I seem to discover its author in worshipful attitude before the shrines of nineteenth century positivism, as when I hear him say: "Modern natural science and social science not only stress the importance of man in relation to nature and the

organic kingdom, but also tell us just what man is, what will make him happiest, and how his well-being can best be promoted" (p. 10). I fear, however, that some of the foundations of the "new history" have already crumbled. Are not the great philosophic scientists of today less certain than their predecessors that even the "exact" sciences have reached or can reach any ultimate truth and in grave doubt whether they can recognize truth if perchance that fair creature should come before them?

*Duke University.*

ERNEST W. NELSON.

*The Early Empires of Central Asia: A Study of the Scythians and the Huns and the Part They played in World History, with Special Reference to the Chinese Sources.* By WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN, Northwestern University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xiii, 529. \$4.00.)

THE inspiration for Professor McGovern's study was derived from a realization of the importance in the history of both the ancient and the modern world of the peoples who migrated from Central Asia and of the lack of comprehensive research in the original sources or of any attempted synthesis of the material available. The inspiration is timely. Authors who profess to give an inclusive survey of various aspects of past culture casually dismiss or ignore the areas and periods which have not been hallowed by traditional scholarship. To anyone who has even begun to investigate the field under review it is further clear that a remarkable amount of raw material is available and that important studies of detail have already been made by a large though scattered group of scholars. In appraising the contribution of Professor McGovern, however, one must question whether he has not attempted too much within the limits of a single volume.

The main body of the book is written for "the average intelligent layman". Brief résumés are given of the prehistory of Central Asia and of the racial and linguistic backgrounds of the later inhabitants, and five chapters at the end are devoted to the Hunnish dynasties and kingdoms which appeared in China, India, and Europe. The bulk of the text deals with the successive Hunnish empires of Mongolia, the concurrent expansion of China, and the relations of these powers. A mass of detail is given from the Chinese sources, much of which, though interesting, has little historical value except as it illustrates Chinese psychology.

To the more advanced student Professor McGovern offers notes on the text with references to primary and secondary sources, a section of supplementary notes covering a number of problems involving differences of opinion among specialists which are passed over in the text, an index thoughtfully organized, and a full bibliography accompanied by brief discussions of the primary sources, especially the Chinese. This portion of the study is useful but inadequate. The author himself admits most of the difficulties:



the primary sources are written in Chinese, Arabic, and other Oriental languages as well as in Greek and Latin; no one scholar can handle all competently; no definitive translation exists for many; critical analysis has been applied to few; and much remains to be done in the correlation of these sources. It is disappointing, however, that Professor McGovern, who relies so extensively on the Chinese data, has not submitted at least the more important material in this field to a somewhat detailed historical criticism.

Several of the more recent discussions of Central Asian problems are omitted from the bibliography, and a number of unimportant slips escaped the proofreaders; here blame must be laid on the circumstances which detained the author in China just prior to publication. More serious is the failure to define clearly the geographical limits of the areas treated and to discuss adequately the physical and climatic features of each. Largely ignored in the book is the central mountain mass—Altai, Khangai, Sayan—and its importance as a barrier and as the home of a distinctive culture. There is the related failure to appreciate the extent and significance of settled, even urban, cultures which were native to Central Asia. In general, however, the effort of Professor McGovern to meet so many needs in a single volume has resulted in a relatively well-grounded and balanced work which should be read by laymen and thoughtfully studied by scholars in many fields.

*The University of Michigan.*

ROBERT H. McDOWELL.

*A History of Women in Medicine from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.* By KATE CAMPBELL HURD-MEAD, M.D. (Haddam: Haddam Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 569. \$6.00.)

THE reading of this robust volume left the reviewer more impressed with woman's achievements in feminist propaganda than in medicine or in critical historical scholarship. In her preface the author frankly states a creed which dominates the entire book, viz., in the past there has been "no real appreciation of the value of the work which women have done", and women have always been "too busy to say much about themselves" (p. vi). To the righting of this wrong in the field of medical history she seems to have dedicated herself years ago at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. There, as a young M.D. in the days of Drs. Osler, Welch, and Kelly, she came under the spell of what has been called "the epochal medical feminist movement" of the late nineteenth century. Through thirty-five years of medical practice, during which time Dr. Hurd-Mead herself was "too busy to say (or write) much" about women in medicine, she lost none of her feminist crusading zeal. Finally, in 1925, she retired from active practice to spend the next twelve years collecting material concerning the medical women of bygone days. In this process she became interested in Trotula, the woman physician of Salerno, and wrote vigorously in defense of her name and legendary fame (*Isis*, vol. XIV, 1930; *Medical Life*, vol. XXXVIII, 1931).

The present volume presses the campaign for the proper appreciation of womankind on a wider front, giving the Salernitan medical women their due in an expanded version of the Trotula article and interpreting in a similarly aggressive and optimistic fashion the careers of all women concerning whom history reveals any evidence of medical interests. Under the magic touch of Dr. Hurd-Mead's pen women from all walks of life in all ages are metamorphosed into woman physicians, doctors, surgeons, or teachers and students of medicine. Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt, Augustus's sister Octavia, Lucrezia Borgia, Madame Roland, and hundreds of others are thus admitted to the ranks of the world's medical women.

The author has assembled, from secondary works for the most part, much interesting detail concerning women's service to mankind not only as professional physicians but also as midwives, nurses, mothers, and public benefactors of various types. Three chapters are devoted respectively to ancient times, the early middle ages, and Salerno (with special emphasis on Trotula); these are followed by seven long chapters, one for each century from the twelfth to the nineteenth. In a forthcoming volume the story will be brought down to the present.

He who reads to the end of the book cannot escape the impressiveness of woman's contributions to medicine and also to other lines of social service, for the author has interpreted her subject broadly. It might almost be said that she has re-written the history of civilization in general and of medicine in particular from a militant feminist viewpoint. She attacks her task so vigorously, however, that at times she overdoes matters. For example, one reads that Héloïse "was probably the most learned doctor of France in the twelfth century", that "Abelard gave her what would now be regarded as a graduate course in medicine, surgery, theology, and philosophy", and that for "twenty years . . . she taught and practiced medicine" (pp. 179 f.). Similar historical surprises occur frequently enough to dampen considerably the reader's enthusiasm for the glorification of womankind. The constant use of expressions such as "always", "surely", "doubtless", and "must have been" for the purpose of stressing the extent of feminine activities is likewise negative in effect. In the titles of some of the illustrations there is also a tendency to strained interpretation, serving girls, nurses, nuns, and even men in clerical garb being labeled as medical women. In general, however, the illustrations (seventy in all) are excellent, and the index is unusually good. Thanks to the author's vigorous and dramatic presentation, the book will find many interested readers among the general public.

*University of North Carolina.*

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

*Judaism and Christianity*. Volume I, *The Age of Transition*, edited by W. O. E. OESTERLEY. Volume II, *The Contact of Pharisaism with Other Cultures*, edited by H. LOEWE. Volume III, *Law and Religion*, edited by

ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937; 1937; 1938. Pp. xii, 304; xxii, 371; xiv, 248. \$4.00; \$6.00; \$5.00.)

THESE three volumes of essays grew out of three independent series of lectures delivered successively at the Universities of London, Cambridge, and Manchester in the years 1935-37. The usual disparity of approach and treatment on the part of different lecturers and the unavoidable repetitions affecting each series individually are aggravated by the evident lack of previous planning for the entire set. Nevertheless, these volumes will be found thought-provoking and worth while by scholars and interested laymen alike, even by such as may find themselves in complete disagreement with some basic views or with innumerable details expounded by the respective lecturers.

Two lecturers (J. Murphy and T. Fish), reaching out into the background of the Old Testament, discuss the "Primitive Origins of Law in Relation to Religion" and "Law and Religion in Babylonia and Assyria" (III, 3-44). The Old Testament itself, although frequently referred to in almost all lectures, is specifically dealt with only by H. Wheeler Robinson in his essay on "Law and Religion in Israel" and, in part, by Edward Robertson in his analysis of the interpretation given to both by the ancient Samaritan schismatics (III, 45-88). True to the main objective of the three series, much greater emphasis is laid on the formative period of both Talmudic Judaism and Christianity in the few centuries preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. Oesterley, besides offering a general survey of the historical background of the period from 323 B.C. to A.D. 100, analyzes the peculiar characteristics of the Biblical and apocryphal wisdom and apocalyptic literatures, which originated largely during that period, and of the Biblical beliefs in angels and demons which at that time assumed their more definitive shape (I, 3-25, 59-101, 193-209). To Pharisaism, the chief Jewish religious movement of the Second Commonwealth, from which were to evolve both orthodox Judaism and the basic Jewish elements in Christianity, are devoted two comprehensive essays by Herbert Loewe, one by Canon W. L. Knox, and one by R. Travers Herford (I, 105-90; II, 3-111; III, 91-121). While Herford's presentation of the law in Pharisaism is largely a restatement of ideas expressed by him in several well-known monographs, Canon Knox's comparison between Pharisaism and Hellenism is professedly unorthodox. Since the main material for Hellenism is drawn from the works of Philo, it is regrettable that the author was unable to make use of Israel Heinemann's outstanding analysis in his *Philos griechische und jüdische Bildung*, which had appeared in Breslau in 1932. (One cannot quite understand why he, as well as other lecturers, should have found it so difficult to secure some well-known recent publications; see II, 76, n., 154, n.). Dr. Loewe's essays, treating of Pharisaism as a religious phenomenon rather than a specific, chronologically well-defined historic movement, are admittedly dependent upon Abrahams's and Finkelstein's studies in Pharisaism and

are, in part, superseded by the latter's more recent two-volume work, *The Pharisees*, in which his previous views are both elaborated and modified in many significant aspects. "The Emergence of Christianity from Judaism" is stimulatingly discussed by S. H. Hook, who also analyzes the relationships between Christianity and the Graeco-Roman mystery religions (I, 213-81). Other side lights on the question are offered by a general survey of "Religion in the Graeco-Roman World" by E. O. James and by T. W. Manson's analysis of the attitude of Jesus and Paul to the Law (I, 29-56; III, 125-41). Professor Manson's view that "the difference between Saul of Tarsus and Paul the Apostle is that Saul would have said, 'If you do not fulfill the Law, you will not be saved,' while Paul would say, 'If you do not fulfill the Law, you have not been saved'" may readily be accepted even by those "devout Jews" to whom, the lecturer fears, his presentation may appear unduly harsh. The relations between the two religions after their final separation are briefly but illuminatingly discussed by James Parkes in his essay on "Rome, Pagan and Christian" (II, 115-44), which in part summarizes the same author's views in his comprehensive volume on *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*. These relations are put into bolder relief by a discussion of law and religion in Islam by Professor H. A. R. Gibb and, with specific reference to the Jews under Islam, by Dr. E. Rosenthal (II, 147-85; III, 145-68). Dr. Rosenthal's analysis of the attitude of medieval Judaism to the Law is effectively supplemented by Dr. L. Rabinowitz's essay on French Jewry in the thirteenth century (II, 189-220; III, 171-208). Various aspects of medieval and early modern European life, with reference to Judeo-Christian inter-relations, are treated by G. G. Coulton and A. C. Adcock, while a Catholic scholar, Vincent McNabb, glorifies the scholastic attitude to the Law (II, 223-95; III, 211-33). McNabb's approach is best characterized by one of his concluding sentences: "if this city [Manchester] gave its name to a school of economic *laissez-faire*, now fruiting in world-wide class war, these lectures on the great moral, religious and social laws of a little Eastern people may be that city's inspiring return to ways of wisdom and peace". H. F. Stewart compares Jewish and Jesuit casuistry (II, 299-331). His hesitancy, however, in postulating a historic connection (p. 301, n.) does not seem quite justified in view of the large number of Marranos and their descendants among the Spanish clergy before and after 1492.

The essays are, on the whole, lucidly written, but the reader's enjoyment is somewhat lessened by a confusion arising from the simultaneous and rather indiscriminate use of footnotes and notes at the end of every chapter. Curiously it is the former which, as a rule, occupy much the larger space and often include additional remarks, almost excursions, by the editors. While offering comparatively little new material to the scholar these volumes may accomplish one of the primary aims of the entire undertaking and help—to quote the Archbishop of York, who wrote the foreword to the third

volume—"modern English people to appreciate their double debt to Judaism and to Christianity, and so the more readily, as one hopes, to regard with sympathy and friendliness the Jewish people who now so urgently need both". This purpose is so pronounced throughout the three series and is so frequently stressed by the editors themselves that the present reviewer at least does not feel inclined to quarrel with the strong overdose of apologetics injected into many of the leading essays.

*Columbia University.*

SALO W. BARON.

*On and Off the Campus.* By GUY STANTON FORD. With a Biographical Introduction by George E. Vincent. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. 511. \$4.00.)

THIS volume of Guy Stanton Ford's essays, articles, and editorial writings, published by the University of Minnesota Press in recognition of Dr. Ford's twenty-fifth anniversary as dean of the graduate school, was presented to him by his colleagues following his election to the presidency of the American Historical Association. In a short preface to Dr. Ford's own writings Professor Theodore C. Blegen, the editor of the volume, correctly states that they express Ford's concern about fundamental things and his genius for fitting the word to the thought.

As an editor Dean Ford has sponsored a number of books which have thrown new light on vital problems of contemporary civilization. In 1928 he commented on the tremendous influence of revolutionary Russia in the Western world and noted our apathy toward a greater and perhaps more significant change in the Far East. Seven years later he was calling attention to the possibility that propaganda might make the world safe for dictators. In one pronouncement he declared that youth might yet come to believe that democracy means only old forms and not immortal principles, acquisitive license and not orderly self-government. "Whatever it is that is wrong", he wrote, "it is global; it affects and includes the whole world."

The papers concerning educational administration included in this volume cover such subjects as the selection and improvement of the college faculty, the library, and the graduate school and student opportunities and obligations. Dean Ford's great influence in the Association of American Universities is, however, hardly revealed by the selections from its proceedings here given.

"If history has any lessons to teach", wrote Ford, "the supreme one is that of ceaseless change within human society and in mankind's relation to his physical environment." For the historian of the complexities of modern civilization he demanded liberty of discussion, which is vital both to scholarship and to democracy, with its accompaniment of majority rule. In the opinion of the present writer Dean Ford underestimated the internal changes through which the majority of the great nations passed between the armis-

tice of 1918 and the outbreak of the second world war, changes which were not "silent", according to his definition, but "real revolutions".

"The Lost Year in Stein's Life", here printed for the first time, presents a documentary history of one hitherto unknown year in the Prussian reformer's career. It reveals a controversy between the young director of mines in the Ruhr and Matthew Boulton, England's greatest industrialist of the revolutionary period, a minor incident which, however, forecast the coming struggle for industrial supremacy between the European branches of what Andrew Carnegie in 1913 called "our Teutonic race". It will only confirm the judgment of European historians that Ford has made real contributions to the "autonomous history" of Stein.

The Lost Address of Ford, to which Dr. Vincent alludes in his biographical sketch, would have furnished the best possible conclusion for this volume. At a dinner meeting on the Cornell campus Dean Ford was unexpectedly asked to address the presidents and graduate deans of the leading American universities. His tribute to Andrew D. White and his masterful presentation of his own forward looking social philosophy may be summarized in three immortal words: *Vita historiae magistra*.

Stanford University.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

*L'amirauté de Guienne depuis le premier amiral anglais en Guienne jusqu'à la Révolution*. Par MARCEL GOURON, archiviste du Gard. (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey. 1938. Pp. xliii, 552. 70 fr.)

THIS book, at once a comprehensive and a detailed study of the least-known of the four admiralties of France under the Old Regime, traces the evolution of the admiralty of Guienne from its origins in the thirteenth century to its abolition in 1790. Successive sections stress the medieval period with its intense struggles between unformed admiralty institutions on the one hand and royal, seignorial, and urban vested rights on the other, explain the definite establishment of the Guienne admiralty in 1469, and discuss its partial reformation under Richelieu and again under Colbert. Much attention is paid throughout the book not only to relevant administrative and judicial functions but also to commercial, maritime, and related interests. The admirals themselves appear in some detail, as do their subordinates of all ranks. Bordeaux always takes the central place which its position in the whole commercial life of southwestern France warrants. Moreover, the great rivalries of France with England, of local with national issues, of administrative with judicial viewpoints, of territorial with maritime rights, and many others are allowed full scope. If some confusion results, probably the truth is the better served. A concluding section devoted to the Guienne admiralty and its relations with maritime life in general deals with such interrelated topics as fishing, navigation, and the busy life of the ports of southwestern France in this period, together with their numerous problems, political, disciplinary, diplomatic, and social.

The book is carefully planned, profusely documented, and generously furnished with preliminary statements of a summary nature not only for the whole work but also for each of the three books into which it is divided and for each of the twenty-one chapters which they collectively contain. An excellent introduction explains the difficulties of a subject which begins in the thirteenth century although it rests upon documents which are extant in any quantity only from 1640. An extensive bibliography demonstrates that the archives of both England and France have been thoroughly and profitably searched. The classified list of secondary materials is surprisingly well up-to-date as of the year 1936. Twenty-one hitherto unpublished documents (mainly letters, instructions, and *arrêts* of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries) are printed in an appendix. A twenty-page summary, arranging the findings of the author under ten heads, concludes the text. There is an excellent index for the whole volume.

This is an intelligent and well-informed book. It reflects many cross-currents in the administrative, judicial, military, commercial, maritime, and diplomatic life of the Old Regime. There are great names upon many of its pages (Richelieu, Colbert, Monluc). Many of the fundamental factors of French history in this period are constantly involved—feudalism, royal centralization, local vested rights, etc. The author knows his way about in the various controversies into which his materials force him, as his footnotes abundantly illustrate. His is a broad viewpoint even in connection with the most minor details of a half-forgotten provincial institution. It is a great pity that he did not rewrite his book in about one fifth of its present compass (the text alone runs to 507 closely packed pages) so that someone other than the reviewer might be induced to read it.

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

*Propaganda for War: The Campaign against American Neutrality, 1914-1917.* By H. C. PETERSON. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 357. \$3.00.)

*Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918.* By GEORGE G. BRUNTZ. [Hoover War Library Publications.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 246. \$3.50.)

THAT the study and investigation of propaganda are rapidly developing objects of historical research becomes increasingly apparent. They were emphasized in the 1932 report of the committee of the American Historical Association on the planning of research entitled "Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities". They are well illustrated by the two books under review.

Professor Peterson's volume is the longer of the two and probably for most American readers the more generally interesting. With clarity and fairness he discusses the British propaganda effort in the United States from 1914 to 1917, an effort whose outlines are, of course, familiar to all serious



students of the World War. But he adds much detail to the story as hitherto understood. Particularly illuminating are his skillful use of the masses of undigested information in the reports of Senator Nye's munitions investigating committee of 1934-36, his numerous citations from the as yet unpublished papers of many Americans prominent during the World War period, and his excellent bibliography whose completeness and length will be a revelation to the uninitiated. Despite a few minor errors of orthography, Peterson's book is a fine job. Someday perhaps certain persons in Great Britain and in the United States who were intimately connected with the British propaganda endeavor during the war and who up until now have refrained from revealing what they know will add further important information. Until that shall transpire, *Propaganda for War* will undoubtedly remain as the definitive work in this field of World War history.

*Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918* is a discriminating treatment of another phase of the propaganda developments of the World War. After summarizing the organization, the tactics, and the bases for distribution of the Allied propaganda destined for Germany, Bruntz analyzes the internal conditions in that country which made for a receptive attitude towards the propaganda appeal. He concludes with a chapter—on the whole the most important one in the book—discussing the effect of propaganda on the German morale, especially that of the soldiers. While wisely disclaiming any precise mathematical estimate concerning the degree to which propaganda was responsible, he states: "without a study of the part it played no historian can come to a real conclusion as to the causes of the collapse of the German Empire in 1918".

As *Mein Kampf* has so frankly stated, control of public opinion in wartime under modern conditions of belligerency is a vital necessity. Peterson and Bruntz approach the application of this truism from widely different viewpoints, but they both show clearly and irrefutably how the Allied governments, particularly the British, sought to accomplish this objective between 1914 and 1918.

Colby Junior College.

JAMES DUANE SQUIRES.

*An African Survey: A Study of Problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara.* By LORD HAILEY. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xxviii, 1837. \$7.00.)

THIS survey is the most ambitious and complete study so far made of any part of the tropics. It confines itself to Africa south of the Sahara and, excluding Liberia and islands such as Zanzibar and Madagascar, concentrates largely on British, French, and Belgian territory. The survey was conducted under the direction of Lord Hailey, former governor of the United Provinces in India, who was assisted by a large number of qualified critics from various countries. Research was started at the end of 1933, and the volume made its

appearance at the end of 1938. The cost of the survey was borne by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rhodes Trustees.

The survey begins with the geography and anthropology of Africa. Chapters are devoted to the physical background, the African people, and the languages of the continent. Attention is then directed to the political and social objectives of government, various systems of colonial administration, law and justice, native administration, and systems of direct taxation. Other chapters deal with economic questions such as the problems of labor, the state and the land, agriculture, forests, water supply and soil erosion, the external and internal aspects of African development, minerals and mines, health, and education. In every chapter the authors have thoroughly documented themselves, particularly with official sources, and their data seem sound and their descriptions correct. The volume emphasizes the need for further research and for the creation of institutions which can carry on research continuously and favors the establishment of an African Bureau in London to be a source of information on every African activity.

Probably the most interesting material accumulated in this volume relates to the economic role played by Africa in the world's economy. That continent provides only 4.5 per cent of the world's export and only 4.8 per cent of its import trade, but it produces a large proportion of a few special commodities such as gold, diamonds, palm oil, cocoa, and sisal. Great Britain obtains about 99 per cent of its palm kernels, 76 per cent of its unrefined palm oil, about 92 per cent of its cocoa, about 22 per cent of its copper, 51 per cent of its mahogany, and 12 per cent of its walnut from African sources. Germany obtains about 34 per cent of its copper from the same continent. Mining has been probably the most important factor in African economic development. The volume also shows how colonial trade is dominated by the mother country by virtue of fiscal weapons and government purchases, which in the case of the Sudan amount to nearly a quarter of all imports. Within recent years Japan has been more successful than Germany in overcoming these obstacles.

The economic development of the continent has made heavy demands on outside capital. Foreign investments total probably six billion dollars, a large proportion of which has come from British investors. About 75 per cent of the loans raised by governments of British territories has been to construct railroads.

Although the survey expresses cautious judgments in places, on the whole it is descriptive rather than analytical. Nevertheless, by implication at least, it is more critical of the British system of "indirect rule" than of the French doctrine of "association". Systems of administration seem to be judged by their avowed principles and procedures rather than by a factual examination of the application of these principles and their results. The existence of compulsory labor is minimized. The reader does not obtain any picture of the

struggle going on between white and black in South and East Africa, nor does the volume adequately depict the impact made by industrial civilization upon native life. The statesman hoping to find a solution of the "colonial" problem will not find it in these pages. The possibility or desirability of placing the continent under international administration, the strategic questions involved in colonial transfers, and other similar problems are not discussed. Such questions no doubt were excluded from the beginning by the nature of this type of survey. Nevertheless this book must be of the greatest usefulness to all colonial administrators and others wanting a compendium of knowledge relating to African problems. It should also serve as extremely useful background material to those charged with the formulation of colonial policy in the future.

Richmond, Massachusetts.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL.

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

*Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums vom Paläolithikum bis zur Völkerwanderung der Germanen, Slaven und Araber.* Von FRITZ M. HEICHELHEIM. Zwei Bände. (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1938. Pp. xiii, 1239. 49 fl.)

THIS is a large book even in a day when large books are the fashion. What is really remarkable about it, however, is not its size, for the economic history of mankind from the palaeolithic to Heraclius could scarcely have been outlined, with adequate documentation, in fewer pages. The remarkable thing is that the author was able to complete the stupendous mechanical task of compiling, examining, and digesting his enormous collections of material and still have left the mental and spiritual energy which enabled him to introduce into his summary a refreshing leaven of original and significant ideas. This and the further circumstance that he is not merely an economist, but a historian with broad and sound philological knowledge and a lively interest in the philosophy of history, are what give the work its chief value. In its field it is comparable to Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*.

Volume I contains 859 pages of text evidently intended to be read consecutively rather than dipped into for purposes of reference. After a brief introductory chapter, dealing mainly with method and warning that the author has his eye on the modern world while he writes of economies past and gone, the historical narrative begins with the palaeolithic culture, in which all was "work" and there was no "capital" though already a primordial traffic in special articles de luxe; here is the starting point of all later economic development, the seeds of individualism and of collectivism side by side. Chapter III covers the long range from the food gatherers of the palaeolithic to the appearance of the *Stadtkulturen* of the ancient Near East. Emphasis is upon the first signs of the factor of "capital" in a relatively simple form

and upon the development as early as the neolithic of economic and social elements which still are fundamental and surprisingly little changed. With chapter iv we come to the *Stadtkultur*, which the author regards as having its origin in the discovery that capital, in the form of fungibles (*vertretbare Sachen*), could be put out at interest and so made to work more effectively, with resultant intensification of economic activity. The gradual development of the Oriental despotisms is traced, and their economy, a patriarchal state-socialism which is an extension of the earlier collectivism of the village cultures to large areas, is effectively contrasted with the individualism that is to make its appearance with the rise of the Greek city-state. Chapter v deals with this new development, from *ca.* 1100 to 560 B.C., and chapter vi with the mature economy of the Hellenic city-state as it existed from Pisistratus to Alexander the Great. Chapter vii covers the Hellenistic age and republican Rome; for the author this is the crucial period, in which exploitation on a vast scale, conjoined with maladministration, brought the economic progress of the Mediterranean world to a stop, and retrogression set in. Imperial Rome is dealt with in the last two chapters, the dividing point being the reign of Diocletian. Within each chapter the discussion is arranged topically, beginning usually with money and capital and proceeding through various types of work, trade, and production to the social and political results or manifestations of the economic factors.

Volume II is devoted entirely to a commentary of more than 360 pages, mostly bibliography. The innumerable titles are mainly of studies published within the last decade or two. Both volumes are admirable specimens of the bookmaker's art, well printed on good paper with type which is easily legible even in the smaller size used in the commentary; the proofreading is good and misprints relatively few even in the Greek quotations and in the bibliographical citations.

No one who has tried to deal with the difficult problems of ancient economic history will be disposed to withhold full recognition of a distinguished achievement or to put undue emphasis upon differences of individual opinion where so much must be hypothetical and uncertain. Experts in the several fields will of course find opinions with which they do not agree and here and there inevitable errors. Perhaps the most cogent objection to the general plan of the work has to do with an incompatibility of arrangement and proportion; it is much too lengthy and elaborate for the general reader of economic history, yet the commentary is unsuited to the purposes of the specialist. In the opinion of the reviewer it would have been better to restrict the bibliography to the works which are made the basis for the text, or at least to segregate these from the general apparatus, and to give more numerous and briefer notes of specific reference. For example, in several pages which treat mainly of the silver mines at Laurium a number of highly controversial points are raised, but a single long footnote cites indiscri-

minately a large number of studies without any indication of their bearing upon the statements in the text. Thus the reader finds it difficult to discover precisely how the author reconciles his view that the state held the mines "als einfaches Bodeneigentum" with the epigraphical evidence that Laurium was filled with private holdings which could not well have been so numerous in a public domain.

In the chapters which the present reviewer is competent to test there are comparatively few errors of detail and much that commands immediate assent. All this, however, together with the worth of the author's larger conclusions, must be left to critics who have more space at their disposal. Probably few will quarrel with the final conclusion that economic selfishness and exploitation, at home or abroad, spell disaster. One wonders whether the quotation at the very end (*videant consules . . .*) is intended to be taken absolutely or in its historical context; if the latter, it sounds an ominous note.

University of California.

GEORGE M. CALHOUN.

*Études d'archéologie grecque.* Par YVES BÉQUIGNON, JOSEPH BIDEZ, PIERRE DEMARGNE, ROBERT FLACELIÈRE, PIERRE DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE, CHARLES PICARD. (Ghent: École des hautes études. 1938. Pp. xii, 157. 40 fr. belges.)

THIS second volume of the *Annales de l'École des hautes études de Gand* contains a series of excellent studies on a variety of subjects. M. Béquignon ingeniously explains the itinerary of Apollo from Olympus to Delphi described in the Homeric hymn by assuming that the author of the poem has chosen places popular in the legends of the period rather than those dictated by geographical considerations. An inscription in Greek hexameters found at Treves and dating from the period of Julian the Apostate is the subject of an article by M. Bidez. The inscription was apparently a dedication to Hermes of an effigy bearing a belt ornamented with gold, glass, and jewels. M. Bidez pays tribute to the scholarship of R. Herzog, who first published the fragments, and adds some interesting suggestions on the significance of gems with magic properties.

A valuable contribution is that of M. Demargne on the relations of early Crete to Egypt and Asia. He concludes quite justly that recent discoveries in Syria and Asia Minor tend to link these cultures more and more closely to that of Crete. The origin of many Cretan remains formerly ascribed to Egypt may now be more justly ascribed to Asia. Very interesting is his suggestion that instead of a part of Asian culture approaching Crete through Egypt, as Evans suggested, in reality much of the Egyptian influence in Crete came by way of Palestine and Syria.

M. Flacelière attempts to dispose of some of the difficulties in explanations of the operation of Apollo's oracle at Delphi by suggesting that the seat of the prophetess and the place of the consultants were both below the

regular floor level of the temple. The hypothesis is reasonable and ably supported, but the archaeological remains have thus far failed to reveal evidence of two levels.

The arrangement of pediment figures in the sixth century temple of Apollo and the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi on the basis of measurements and geison cuttings constitutes a contribution by M. P. de La Coste-Messelière. Finally M. Picard, in the difficult field of Greek mythology, seeks to connect Nereids and Sirens with spirits of the dead, the winged souls of the departed, a hypothesis ably developed and most stimulating in its breadth.

It is impossible here to do more than mention the articles which constitute this volume. There is nothing very startling, but the admirable treatment of the themes and the sound scholarship of the authors set a high standard for the series.

*The University of Michigan.*

CLARK HOPKINS.

*The Athenian Tribute Lists.* By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT, Institute for Advanced Study, H. T. WADE-GERY, Wadham College, Oxford, MALCOLM FRANCIS MCGREGOR, University of Cincinnati. Volume I. [The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxxii, 605. Plates xxv. \$15.00.)

THIS work constitutes a corpus of all the documents bearing directly or indirectly on the tribute paid by the subject states of the first Athenian Empire: the tribute quota lists, the assessment lists, relevant Athenian decrees, and literary references. The second volume, which scholars will await with impatience, is to supply the historical interpretation of this evidence. Since the last publication of the tribute lists (*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, V, 1931), much study has been devoted to them, and that publication was, by the plan of the work, a summary of results rather than a self-sufficient edition. Consequently the appearance of this book is welcomed. The published work of the last decade is here gathered together, and a great number of new readings are added, so that the *S.E.G.* texts are completely superseded. The soundness of the epigraphical methods employed is sufficiently guaranteed by the names appearing on the title page and that of the late Allen West, whose work, generously acknowledged by the authors, was important in the preparation of this volume.

Two auxiliaries, a register and a gazetteer, make up in fact the larger part of the volume and are perhaps of even greater utility than the texts. The register presents in clear tabular form the yearly record of each city, as regards assessments, payment and nonpayment of tribute, and significant historical information. In addition, a list of the known Hellenotamiae is given, together with indexes of tributary Carian dynasts, syntelic payments, and the special rubrics found in the lists. In the gazetteer is assembled the

evidence for the site of every city in the empire, and the results are indicated on an excellent map. The gazetteer, however, has no organic bond with the rest of the book and would have been more convenient if published separately—μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν.

The rest of the book might have been published as an ordinary monograph, including improved texts, supplements to the bibliography, and photographs of fragments of which none existed. Such a work would have been simply another step in establishing the texts. The authors, however, have not limited themselves to this but have included a photograph of every fragment, even when better ones exist. They have printed complete bibliographies instead of merely supplementing existing ones, and they have added to the book such supplements as the testimonia. Apparently they have attempted to produce a work which will as far as possible supplant previous ones and reduce reference to other books to a minimum. The realization of this aim would have been of inestimable value, but unfortunately the authors by no means achieve it, for while replacing certain parts of previous works, they rely on these works entirely for the one real essential, the *apparatus criticus*. The only acceptable principle for collections such as this was stated by Robert (*Revue de philologie*, 1934, p. 407): they should "offrir . . . un appareil aussi complet que possible . . . permettant de suivre les progrès réalisés dans la constitution du texte depuis la première édition". Nor need a really complete apparatus have unduly increased the size and cost of the book. Throughout there is a very great waste of space. Five full-page illustrations (I, 2, 89, 90, 148) are useless. Four fifths of the table of abbreviations could have been eliminated; one could have cited the list in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Three fourths of the commentary is sheer verbiage; e. g., the only information contained in the second paragraph of commentary on page 6 that is not evident from the critical signs in the text could be thus expressed: 14 a] \. The compendious methods of literary apparatus are perfectly adaptable to epigraphic texts and should be adopted.

Even if a complete apparatus, however, had been given, the book would still have been economically wasteful. The only permanent part, the photographs, should have been published separately and definitively, just as is done with facsimiles of manuscripts. In the present form the need for economy has resulted in the inferiority of many of the reproductions to those already existing. The rest of the book could have been more cheaply printed, thereby becoming more accessible and facilitating a later edition. If two-color plates were to be used at all, it would have been better to superimpose in red on the entire-stele drawings the outlines of the detail drawings and on the charts of fragments the outlines of the areas covered by each quota list. The fragment numbers should have been added to the detail drawings and to the texts and line numbering to the photographs and the drawings.

In brief, the book is an important contribution to the study of the quota



lists, to which is appended an admirable gazetteer of the Athenian Empire. Its form and price, however, justify much greater expectations, and these it fails to satisfy.

Harvard University.

ROBERT SCHLAIFER.

*Histoire ancienne*. Deuxième partie, *Histoire grecque*. Tome IV, *Alexandre et l'hellénisation du monde antique*. Première partie, *Alexandre et le démembrement de son empire*. Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ, membre de l'Institut, PIERRE ROUSSEL, membre de l'Institut, professeur à la Sorbonne, ROBERT COHEN, professeur au Lycée Henri IV. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glötz.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1938. Pp. 434. 60 fr.)

GUSTAVE Glötz's *Histoire ancienne* is in scope a counterpart of the great *Cambridge Ancient History*, but in character it is quite different. With all its manifest and manifold virtues, the *C.A.H.* remains in substance a congeries of essays from a variety of hands representing many points of view. The miscellaneous effect is heightened by the treatment of all contemporary events in the ancient world, whether or not related, in the same volumes. The *Histoire ancienne* deals with the Orient, Greece, and Rome separately, and the small number of contributors, each handling a large block of material, makes possible a unified approach. If the narrative is sometimes less brilliant, it is also less subjective, and while it too aims at a wide audience, it does not refuse to give in footnotes for the benefit of students its sources of information and problems on which views conflict. And it is much longer, the present volume devoting more than twice as much space to the period under review as did the *C.A.H.*, Volume VI, ten years ago. The authors have read much, considered wisely, missed little. The result is a complete, modern, and in many points original account of the years from 336 to 280 B.C., the death of Seleucus being chosen as a better point of division than the death of Antigonos. Only the first chapter, with an account of Persia in the fourth century (wherein is given an excellent description of the dynasts of Asia Minor), and the last, with an account of Agathocles, lie outside the chronological and topographical limits of the volume.

The history of Alexander was written by Professor Cohen and revised by Glötz before his death. It is a sober narrative, although based principally on Radet and expressly hostile to Wilcken, but a reader may feel that Tarn comes closer to an explanation of the conqueror. Certainly Cohen shows little appreciation of the Persians, whom Alexander learned to respect and admire. His account of Greece during the same period, however, is excellent.

The second half of the volume, devoted to the complicated period of the Diadochs, is from the experienced hand of Professor Roussel. Constitutional questions are avoided, problems of chronology are handled somewhat arbitrarily, but the bibliography is there, and the general excellence and especially

the clarity of the account make it a notable contribution to the history of the formative years of the Hellenistic Age.

Yale University.

C. BRADFORD WELLES.

*The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory.* By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, Yale University. With a *General Bibliography of Philo* by HOWARD L. GOODHART and ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 348. \$3.75.)

IN the ever-increasing literature dedicated to the various problems of Philonic scholarship one gap is noticeable: relatively little attention has been paid to the political doctrine of Philo in general and to his concept of the Jews' attitude towards Rome in particular. Professor Goodenough, whose position among American students of Philo is prominent, has attempted to fill this gap in an essay occupying one third of the present volume. This monograph is the logical conclusion of a cycle of Philonic studies carried on by Goodenough over a period of years. After having dealt in his *Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* (1929) with Philo's exposition of Mosaic law and in his *By Light, Light* (1935) with one of the most complicated aspects of Philo's theology—his mysticism—the author now reverts to "Philo politicus", the theme which occupied him long ago and which he had outlined as early as 1926 ("Philo and Public Life", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, 77-79). It is obvious that for historians this theme has paramount interest.

The most lucid portion of the work is the analysis of Philo's attitude towards Rome and the psychological basis of his bitter hatred of the Roman government. Philo never explicitly admitted this hatred, for he had the sagacity to realize the futility of doing so. As spokesman of the Hellenistic Jews he was always ready to compromise with Rome, and only in matters of religious identity did he assert his independence. His long-suffering patience was nurtured by the conviction that a new social order, more favorable to Jews, would emerge (pp. 40-41). It cannot be denied that Philo in his references to Rome evinces a "realistic combination of insight, caution and boldness" (p. 42). Goodenough's interpretation of a passage in *De Somniis*, II, 81-92 (pp. 5-7), which might be considered Philo's credo and which shows a genuinely Machiavellian spirit, is very persuasive. Philo realized that it was impossible to speak the same language to both his Jewish and Gentile audiences, and hence an obvious duplicity is manifest in his political thinking. Thus, *De Somniis* was designed exclusively for Jewish readers conversant with the text of the Old Testament; the allegory of Joseph is a skillfully concealed denunciation of Rome. On the other hand, *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* were written for Gentile consumption.

Philo's political theory was strongly influenced by Plato's ideal Politeia. The kingship entrusted to the philosopher ruler seemed to him to be the best form of government in its guarantee of equality to society. As long as

such a model ruler accomplished his task he was in a special relationship with God. But no Gentile ruler, however godlike, could be recognized as being of divine nature. This recognition of the king's divine duty and the simultaneous denial of the king's divine nature is considered by Goodenough typical not only of Philo but of the political thinking of all Hellenistic Judaism (p. 119).

Another thesis which Goodenough presents is open to controversy. At variance with the leading authorities on Philo (Bréhier and Heinemann), he considers Philo a man of affairs constantly engaged in the public life of Alexandria. According to him, Philo not only participated in the administration of the Jewish community but also played a very prominent part in the political life of Alexandrian Jewry. Unfortunately, we are completely in the dark concerning Philo's biography. We only know that he successfully headed the Jewish delegation sent to Caligula. This fact and the internal evidence furnished by Philo's political writings do not corroborate Goodenough's theory. The material at hand for reconstructing the portrait of Philo as an active participant in the public life of his city is too incomplete to justify Goodenough's categorical assertion.

One cannot help but note the author's sympathetic approach to Philo, an approach which has already been manifested by Goodenough in his previous works.

Scholars working in the field of Hellenistic Judaism and Hellenistic philosophy will be indebted to Goodhart and Goodenough for the bibliography of Philo, which occupies almost two thirds of the volume. Here, together with a thorough description of the manuscripts and editions of Philo, the complete literature pertaining to the numerous problems related to Philo and his age is presented in thirty-three chapters. The bibliography is so detailed that it would be unfair to mention the few cases of oversight which the authors themselves consider inevitable. The selection of Philo's pictures scattered throughout the volume is extremely interesting from the iconographic point of view and deserves special mention.

*University of Nebraska.*

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages.* By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History in the University of California. [University of California Publications in Education.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 198. \$2.00.)

In this study Professor Thompson, armed with much learning and his deep understanding of the medieval scene, sets out to dispel "the gross exaggeration still current in some quarters that in the Middle Ages only clerics could read or write Latin". He aims to discover how extensively a

knowledge of Latin obtained among the laity, here considered as the upper class of medieval society or the noblesse, to which the author confines his attention. In seven chapters he examines critically the Early Middle Ages, the Carolingian Renaissance, Italy (ca. 900-ca. 1300), Germany (ca. 900-ca. 1300), Anglo-Saxon England, France and Flanders (ca. 900-ca. 1300), and Normandy and Norman-Angevin England. There is no index, and, alas, the notes are placed together following each chapter.

No one reading this thoroughly documented monograph could still believe that ignorance of letters characterized the medieval laity, for there has been gathered here too much evidence showing that many of these medieval men and women had attained some degree of literary accomplishment. Yet, true as this is, each page of the study presents problems still to be solved. This indicates no lack of care on the part of Professor Thompson but lies in the very nature of the sources he has been forced to use and should be a challenge to others to pursue further what he has here begun. A query likely first to arise in the minds of readers is a quantitative one. To what extent are the particular instances indicative of the general trend? The question will not always have its answer, and when it does the answer may seem annoyingly unsatisfying. Well aware of the slight information his sources offer and of the care with which they must be used, Professor Thompson has avoided categorical pronouncement and often presents his statements merely as probabilities. Careful as he has been in this respect, there are places where many will disagree with his contentions. This may well be the case when there is doubt concerning the precise meaning of the word laity in the title or concerning the full implications of the definition of literacy as an "ability to understand Latin, both to read it and to write it", as given on page 2. It is more than likely to occur when readers of chapter 1 have already mastered the arguments of Ferdinand Lot's enlightening study "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?" (*Bulletin Du-Cange*, 1931, no. 1, pp. 97-150), which differs on many points with Professor Thompson's arguments. Unfortunately this article seems to have been overlooked, for it is not listed in the notes for the first chapter. In several chapters, and especially in the one on Italy, the attention given to the period prior to 1100 is greater and more impressive than that accorded the High Middle Ages. This will disappoint many readers but may perhaps be explained by the author's definite intent to exclude any discussion of educational theory and practice, of educational institutions which began to appear in the late thirteenth century, and of parish or municipal schools. Grateful as one must be for all that Professor Thompson has done, it is unfortunate that he has not spoken on these matters. Were he to do so, his definition of laity would have to be made more inclusive and royalty made to share his pages more with men of lesser degree.

Princeton University.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

*Medieval Panorama: The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation.*

By G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 801. \$4.00.)

ONCE again Dr. Coulton has placed all students of the Middle Ages, and more particularly all students of medieval England, in his debt. There is, to be sure, little in this volume that cannot be found in his other writings, as the author states in his preface; but here is gathered and laid before us in a single volume a great array of material designed to make clear the life and thought of all sorts and conditions of men from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation. Popes and prelates, priests and peasants, judges in the law courts and Jews in the Ghetto, knights and nobles, monks, friars, physicians, merchants, scholars, townsmen, and country folk—all appear in this historical mosaic. Much there is too in these pages about letters and learning: there are chapters on science, medicine, free thought and the Inquisition, artist life, literary life. The last six chapters are concerned with the prelude to the Reformation. The pages are illuminated, as is to be expected in a work from Dr. Coulton's pen, with a wealth of literary allusion and quotation. There are, for instance, thirty-two references in the index to Dante and forty-eight to *Piers Plowman*.

Not infrequently, and this likewise we have learned to expect from Dr. Coulton, he pauses in his consideration of things medieval to make comments that are at once valid and valuable in the world today. "We may feel", he writes in the chapter entitled "Justice and Police", "that war, even at its best, is thoroughly unworthy of our present civilization; yet, just as it takes two to make a quarrel, so also it takes both sides to maintain peace; and, when fire is once kindled, it is better to be victor than vanquished". I believe that Chesterton would have agreed to the observation, "The specialist in every age (not excepting the scientist of to-day, who here has least excuse of all) is tempted to create or accept on insufficient evidence dogmas of his own." To take an instance of quite different sort, Dr. Coulton makes clear a not unimportant point in historical criticism, in words that will delight some at least of his readers, when he says, "Yet it was necessary for the list of pupils [in Aelfric's *Colloquy*] to have some sort of verisimilitude. The French grammars of our childhood did indeed ask: 'Have you the green penholder of my wife's aunt?' but not 'Have you the green blouse and skirt of my wife's uncle?'"

The interpretation of the Middle Ages found in *Medieval Panorama* is that made familiar over a long course of years to Dr. Coulton's readers. That the material he works with is genuine, hewn, as it were, from medieval quarries, may be taken for granted; one need question neither his erudition nor his honesty. Yet, though in the main his emphasis on the gloom rather than the glory is less pronounced here than in some others of his writings, this work falls somewhat short of being impartial and objective; and here

and there his data may without special pleading be interpreted otherwise than as he interprets them. A reviewer in another journal has remarked that Dr. Coulton reckons 25 per cent, or at least 22 per cent, of the clergy of the diocese of Hereford as offenders on the basis of a visitation of 1397, in which, out of 281 parishes, 72 clerks were presented by their parishioners for incontinence (of whom nine "purged" themselves); while Canon H. Maynard Smith in his *Pre-Reformation England* points out that the returns are from parishes and do not signify the number of the clergy in the diocese. Other instances where one may question Dr. Coulton's interpretation of data can readily be found, and occasionally one may challenge his statements or suggestions. Is it true, for example, that "our own Star Chamber very likely took its name from such documents [registering debts owed to the Jews] (in Hebrew *Sh'tars*)"? Doubtless it "was of extreme rarity", and possibly the medieval church should be condemned on this account, for "bondsmen's bairns to be made bishops"; but one is tempted to ask whether laborers' sons are today numerous in the ranks of the Anglican episcopate. In writing of the Great Schism Dr. Coulton says that "succeeding Popes, Urbans and Clements and Benedicts, have named themselves as if Urban VI, Clement VII, and Benedict XIII had all been rightful pontiffs", which is certainly not true in the case of Clement VII who died in 1534, just one hundred forty years after the death of Robert of Geneva, the antipope who had borne the same name and number. These, however, are trifles.

I doubt whether *Medieval Panorama* ought to be considered as what the publishers say it is, a book designed for everybody, for it presupposes far more knowledge of the medieval centuries than "everybody" is likely to have. For students of the Middle Ages, however, it is one of the best single volumes to possess; and one of its readers at any rate is deeply grateful to Dr. Coulton for it.

Washington and Jefferson College.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

*Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the "Policraticus" of John of Salisbury.* By JOSEPH B. PIKE. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. x, 436. \$7.50.)

IN the present volume Professor Pike, longtime head of the Department of Latin at the University of Minnesota, supplements John Dickinson's translation (1927) of "that part of the *Policraticus* in which its author expounds his political philosophy". Dr. Dickinson has contributed to the present book a foreword of pithy comment upon John of Salisbury's themes here accessible in English: the vices and follies prevalent among princes and the types of philosophical ideas and viewpoints which may be expected to lead to wisdom on the one hand or folly on the other. Anyone who has enjoyed in Walter

Map's *De nugis curialium* that genial worthy's zestful reaction to many phases of twelfth century life and his vivid pictures of the contemporary scene is disappointed at first encounter with John of Salisbury's work of like name, which draws so few of its illustrations of frivolity from the life of the time. The classical examples of this or that, which the great scholar's unmatched knowledge of Latin authors enables him to present at every turn, seem a poor substitute for vivid reminiscences of life in court and town, on highway and byway.

John of Salisbury was easily the chief scholar in the household of Theobald, the able and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the middle of the twelfth century, which included Thomas a Becket, Walter Map, and Gerald de Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis). He was admittedly the Christian humanist bringing to the proper understanding of his own time a comprehensive knowledge of the writings both of the ancient historians and of the Church Fathers. It is true that Cicero and Jerome meet in his person, Augustus and Augustine rub elbows in his pages. And yet, however ancient his citations, he was no mere "helluo librorum", for he resolutely refused to be warped out of his orbit. He has been called grave, sardonic, remote—he himself suggests the word "severe". And he feels no shame in proclaiming himself a member of the academic school. His range is wide and his curiosity all-embracing. When he asserts at the beginning of Book II of the *Policraticus* that all omens are meaningless and charms are silly, one hails him as a contemporary. He has little belief in the interpretation of dreams, he warns his readers of the error into which men are led by the phenomena of heaven, he draws a sharp distinction between astronomy and astrology, and he finds in divination trick pressing close on trick. Save in his classicism, John of Salisbury is essentially a modern.

The format of the present volume is attractive, the translation is easy and adequate, the annotations indispensable in identifying John's numerous quotations. All lovers of our older literature will welcome this volume.

University of Vermont.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

*Die Wiedergeburt der Rechtskultur in Italien durch die wissenschaftliche Lehre: Eine Darlegung der Entfaltung des gemeinen italienischen Rechts und seiner Justizkultur im Mittelalter unter dem Einfluss der herrschenden Lehre der Gutachtenpraxis der Rechtsgelehrten und der Verantwortung der Richter im Sindikatsprozess.* Von Dr. WOLDEMAR ENGELMANN, o. Professor der Rechte a. d. Universität Marburg. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehlers Antiquarium. 1938. Pp. xxiv, 585. 24 M.)

THIS volume provides a fairly comprehensive exposition of the renaissance of Roman legal culture in Italy from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Following an introductory chapter on the significance of this topic with regard to the reception of Roman law in Germany, the author treats of the



history of the rebirth of Roman legal study, with particular emphasis on the nature, application, and interpretation of the jurists' law. A second chapter demonstrates the persisting and guiding influence of this jurisprudence in the courts, particularly with respect to the glosses of Accursius. These chapters are in line with what might have been expected from the main title; and the two hundred pages devoted to these matters are without any question the most exhaustive treatment of them that has appeared in decades. The remainder of the work is a welcome and justified exposition of other subjects necessary for a well-rounded picture. The chapter on the nature and effect of the *consilia* of the jurists, almost one hundred pages in length, is the only discussion of the topic the reviewer has found that states anything more than that these *consilia* were opinions of the jurists delivered to judges. At first sight, Engelmänn's extended treatment of the answerability of the judge would seem out of place in this general work, but it warrants inclusion by reason of the fact that, because of the attention paid to this phase of the law, juristic doctrine was established in practice and adopted in communal legislation and thus became a decisive factor in the "common" law of medieval Italy. The concluding chapters give us a full picture of the *sindicatus* law provided by the statutes for the securing of the answerability of judges, and the procedure thereof.

The method of presentation is not the typical one expected in a work in this field. The author's discussions are constantly intermingled with relatively brief quotations from original sources; this has the advantage of dispensing with hordes of notes but the disadvantage of hampering the reader who wishes to obtain a general view of the subject without stopping to consult the evidence provided. Then again, the reader is forced to rely on the good faith of the author, *i.e.*, that he has not arbitrarily selected those passages which serve to prove his point and omitted those opposed. The question of good faith would not be raised save that there seems to the reviewer a certain undercurrent that deprives this volume of the full value that it otherwise would have had. In the first place, there is a noticeable lack of citation of the works of other scholars who have dealt with the same or similar subjects; one gets the impression that the author cites another scholar only to attack him. Secondly, there are to be found passages which serve no other purpose than the justification of this volume in the light of Nazi philosophy and the glorification of that form of government. So can be explained the contention that the struggle between "Germanist" and "Romanist" actually does not exist (p. 14), the frequent references to the inferiority of English legal culture (pp. 28-29, 32, n. 11), the unimportance of "democratic" forms of government in the development of culture (p. 63), the superior quality of the German people in recent times as evidenced by their capacity to adopt the legal culture of other peoples (pp. 31-32). True, these positions, which are mere dicta, are to be found in the opening pages (perhaps they are

revisions of a book substantially completed five years before publication), yet they should be kept in mind when reading the work.

Nothing that has been said, however, should be taken as questioning the great significance of this volume; it is intended only as a warning that great care should be exercised in accepting the conclusions. A scholar has here finally attacked some of the most important aspects of a vital epoch in the history of law in a brilliant and thorough fashion, has delved into the sources in a most amazing manner (unfortunately there is no index of sources), and the work must serve as a point of departure for further and deeper studies into a period that has been relatively neglected by modern legal scholars.

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A. ARTHUR SCHILLER.

*Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Edward III to Richard III.* Edited by BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM, Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College. With a Commentary by THEODORE F. T. PLUCKNETT, Professor of Legal History in the University of London. [The Ames Foundation.] (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Company; Cambridge: Ames Foundation, Harvard Law School. 1938. Pp. clxi, 590. \$7.50.)

IN a lifework devoted to the subject of the justices of the peace, beginning with a study of the statutes of laborers and continuing with an exposition of the Kent keepers and the early treatises, Professor Putnam now surpasses all previous efforts in this compilation of the peace records for the substantial period of a century and a half.

A principal achievement of the author and editor certainly lay in the discovery of the rolls, which were not to be found in the counties where they logically belonged, but at Westminster where they have remained under no distinct classification but mixed in with rolls of assize and of gaol delivery in almost inextricable confusion. As many as fifty-three of the peace rolls are now known, of which twenty are utilized, some in full and some in selections, for the present purpose. How many more such rolls may have existed, whether lost forever or still awaiting discovery, we can only infer from the character of the clerk whose duty it was to compile the roll: he was often dilatory, careless, and indisposed to make up the record unless it was expressly evoked. This may also explain why almost all the known rolls lie in the fourteenth century, only four being available for the fifteenth century, when, under a change of usage, they were less likely to be required.

The peculiar range of authority exercised by the keepers and justices, which began with the enforcement of the lesser criminal law and later extended to an indefinite variety of statutory and common law infractions, was not acquired, we learn, in a steady progression. At times there were lapses and seasons of retrogression which alternated with the activities of other agencies like the eyres and commissions of oyer and terminer and of

gaol delivery. A mistake of former historians was to hail the justices of the peace as a royalist victory, whereas in truth these magistrates represented rather the strength of the gentry and of parliament in opposition to the centralization of Westminster Hall. On the shifting sands of the statutes, which were never twice the same, and of commissions which ran to great prolixity, how did the justices ever learn the precise limits of their authority? The more they proceeded on customary lines without exact knowledge of the acts, the more subject they found themselves to reversal on error. The higher court exercising most control over the local justices was the king's bench, which, so long as it was migratory, absorbed much of the original jurisdiction pertaining to the counties, but when it became stationary and at a distance from the counties, instead of determining presentments in first instance, gave its attention more to appeals—a royalist victory at last.

As Maitland once said, in comparison with the civil law in those times criminal law was treated as a simple affair. Originally folk law, in the hands of the justices of the peace it continued to be layman's law in spite of the presence of a few lawyers in the quorum. The less strictly they were bound by juristic forms, the more apt were indictments to be spontaneous, descriptive, and expressive of popular feeling. And yet in the course of time certain legal tendencies are evident. There was, for example, a transition from presentments on the part of the jury to indictments sponsoring a true bill. Out of a single concept of larceny which occurs under an indefinite variety of circumstances there emerges the variant of robbery and ultimately of burglary. Among felonies a practical distinction appears in those that are pardonable and those that are not, and likewise as to those clergyable. The criminal aspect of trespass is cleared away from the civil action, while in the emphasis of criminal trespass as leading to the category of misdemeanors Professor Plucknett differs from Sir William Holdsworth. An index to the indictments avoids anachronisms by being compiled in the language of contemporary usage. In the editorial introductions will be found a masterly treatment of the whole subject.

*Vassar College.*

J. F. BALDWIN.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Kaiser Karl VII. und die grossen Mächte, 1740-1745.* Von Dr. FRITZ WAGNER. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938. Pp. vii, 655. 20 M.)

THE War of the Austrian Succession may be considered as an interruption of the Anglo-French rivalry for colonial power. In the War of the Spanish Succession England's desires had been evident but not yet defined; in the Seven Years' War the issue was clear. During the interlude between these two major conflicts the dynastic ambitions of Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, cut across the main issue and embroiled Europe in a struggle which

savored more of the early seventeenth than of the eighteenth century. The resemblance might be pushed further: for the first time since 1618 the Habsburg empire was fighting for its very existence, again the enemy was a Wittelsbacher, and again, superficially at least, Habsburg rule seemed to be in grave danger. Dr. Wagner is therefore justified in devoting a closely written book, based almost entirely on research in the archives, to the diplomatic and military maneuvers of five years. And yet the opening pages make the outcome clear. France, basing its policy on the support of Charles Albert, was weak both in its internal government and in its military power. England, defending the Pragmatic Sanction, could never be free in its diplomacy so long as Hanover was more important to its king than England. Besides, the old game of personal politics lamed its power. Therefore the two protagonists, Bellisle and Carteret, formulated grandiose aims which could never be achieved. Only Frederick II had both the clarity of vision and the military strength to gain his ends. And yet, as Dr. Wagner points out, not even Frederick realized that, as he held the balance of power, the devious method of Klein-Schnellendorf was unnecessary. In passing, the mildness of the author's stricture on the Prussian king's double-dealing may be compared to his appellative of "Gaunerstückchen" to Savoy's signing of the Treaty of Worms with England while playing with a French alliance (p. 451).

Dr. Wagner has found letters of Charles VII in the family archives of Graf Theodore zu Törring-Jettenbach, whose ancestor was the emperor's field marshal and close adviser. For the activities of the great powers he has used the British Public Record Office and the archives of Munich, Paris, and Vienna. Following the lead of Sir Richard Lodge (*Studies in Eighteenth Century Diplomacy, 1740-1748*, chapters I and II), he sees the close connection between the German and the Italian theaters of war, between the so-called Treaty of Hanau, and the Treaty of Worms. However, Dr. Wagner believes that Carteret's great mistake was made when he began the Austrian negotiations before having the Italian treaty in his pocket (p. 441). Whether this could have been done is not at all clear. Carteret's foreign policy lived on after his dismissal from office. Today the situation is reversed. A change of foreign policy does not necessitate the fall of a minister.

Princeton University.

E. A. BELLER.

*Œuvres complètes de Robespierre*. Tome IV, *Les journaux: Le défenseur de la constitution*. Édition complète et critique avec une introduction, des commentaires, et des notes par GUSTAVE LAURENT. [Société des études robespierristes.] (Nancy: Georges Thomas. 1939. Pp. xxxviii, 399. 40 fr.)  
*Robespierre*. By J. M. THOMPSON. Second edition. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1939. Pp. lv, 612. 10s. 6d.)

THE excellent edition of the works of Robespierre, begun before the last

war, goes on in spite of difficulties. May it survive the present war. To the two volumes of writings of the Arras period and the one volume of correspondence of Maximilien and Augustin is now added a fourth volume containing a reprint of Maximilien's first unquestioned venture in journalism, the *Défenseur de la constitution* of the last few months of the Legislative Assembly. It is possible that Robespierre earlier wrote for the *Union, ou Journal de la liberté*, but the attribution of just what he wrote, if indeed he wrote at all, is quite impossible, and M. Laurent is thoroughly justified in not reprinting anything from the *Union*. M. Laurent supplies a careful introduction, "Robespierre journaliste", in which he indicates exactly where Robespierre's journalistic writings are to be found. In particular, he supplies from internal evidence as accurate a timetable as can be made of the separate issues both of the *Défenseur* and of its successor, the *Lettres à ses commettants*. Both of these journals, like many others of the incredible spate that makes the history of French Revolutionary journalism so confusing, were issued without any indication of date. The *Défenseur de la constitution* has become a very rare bookseller's item, and although all its more important articles can be found either in Laponneraye's old edition of Robespierre's works or in Buzé and Roux, all workers in the field will welcome the easy and inexpensive access to the whole file of the paper which this edition affords.

The Robespierre here shown is the Robespierre of the Jacobin Club in the days when the struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde was in its earlier stages, when both factions could still temporarily unite against Lafayette, the triumvirs, and the court. He was not a good journalist in the sense that Marat and Hébert were good journalists. His articles sound like speeches, and indeed they were often merely the manuscripts of speeches he had just read to the Jacobin Club. They seem unbearably dull and pompous now, but they were in their time effective weapons against Lafayette and the Gironde. The *Défenseur* also printed letters and addresses from Robespierre's political allies and from his agents with the armies, and it thus helps us to understand how he built up what we shall have to call a political "machine". The title of the journal sounds a bit strange from the Robespierre of 1792; but in his first number he explains in language of great interest for the student of political psychology that of course he is not defending the bad parts of the constitution, not defending it as monarchists and moderates would but as a good republican must. Incidentally, however much historians may debate the question of how soon important elements in French political life began to want to do away entirely with the monarchical form of government, the language of the *Défenseur* leaves no doubt that by May, 1792, Robespierre was a *républicain* in the full sense the word now has for Frenchmen.

Mr. Thompson's book was first issued in two volumes in 1935 and was reviewed by Professor E. N. Curtis in the April, 1937, number of this journal

(XLII, 532). Save for changes in pagination, it has not been altered. It has established itself as one of the fairest and most accurate accounts of Robespierre's life available in any language, and its reissue in this convenient one-volume form is very welcome.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

*Guillaume I<sup>er</sup> et la transformation économique des Provinces Belges, 1815-1830.* Par ROBERT DEMOULIN, docteur en philosophie et lettres. (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres; Paris: E. Droz. 1938. Pp. 466. 100 fr.)

STUDENTS of European economic history have long been impressed by the sudden outburst of energy in Belgium of the 1830's. With startling speed the little country forged to the front in one industry after another, renovating its methods, concentrating and strengthening its financial controls, until it had outstripped its larger neighbors, yielding precedence only to England in the efficiency of its industrial processes. It was easy to explain this vital transformation by the dynamic forces let loose by the Revolution of 1830, but this simple explanation was not thoroughly convincing. Without solid foundations no amount of new energy and self-confidence could have raised in less than a decade the proud industrial structure of the late 1830's. Behind it lay the fecund period of union with the Netherlands and behind that the years of inclusion in imperial France. As yet we have no general study of the impact of the Napoleonic regime upon the industrial structure of the Belgian provinces, hardly indeed an adequate monograph on one single industry during that fateful score of years. For the Dutch period happily we are now more fortunate; Dr. Demoulin in his new volume brings us for the first time a careful study of the period from 1815 to 1830.

Demoulin has had a good deal of virgin soil to work. Though this has insured a rich harvest, it has greatly increased the difficulty of his task. He has had a very limited supply of monographic material to lighten his labor. The nature of his subject has forced him to comb the archives, central and provincial, of Belgium, the rich desposits at The Hague, and, to a lesser extent, those of Paris and London. If he has been able to use but few collections of business papers, this is due in large part to their nonexistence or their inaccessibility. He has, however, had the great advantage of access to the records of the Société générale.

The book in reality consists of two monographs: the first a definitive study of William I's economic policy particularly as it concerned the Belgian provinces; the second, somewhat less satisfactory, an account of the economic development of those provinces under William's guidance. Demoulin pictures this first Dutch king, tough-minded and grim, as a nineteenth century edition of the enlightened despots, managing his rich little state and his own large fortune with amazing industry and generally with equal success, conciliating wherever possible the divergent interests of his two peoples but bent

above all else on independence of his parliament that he might be free to develop in his own way the wealth of his state. The main lines of his economic policy have been made clear before; Demoulin documents and illustrates them systematically and completely.

As much cannot be said for the second half of the book. Much remains to be done before there can be written the definitive history of Belgian economic development during those fifteen years. On the industrial side Demoulin makes no attempt to follow the technical innovations of the period; he leaves this task to the engineers. But if the engineers will not do it, the historians must. Nor does he attempt to embrace the whole industrial field. Coal mining, metallurgy, and the textile industries alone receive attention and that by no means as thorough as one could wish. The author has given us much, but we want more. He has added a full bibliography and a fairly satisfactory index.

*The University of Vermont.*

PAUL D. EVANS.

*The Age of Reform, 1815-1870.* By E. L. WOODWARD, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [The Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 656. Maps 6. \$6.00.)

As was to be expected, this volume shows excellent workmanship and a thoroughly up-to-date view concerning the presentation of history. It is based on an imposing range of knowledge and reading, organized with great fidelity to a topical arrangement, and clearly and attractively written. One would go far to find as good brief summaries of the history of Ireland, of Chartism, of administrative reform, or of educational progress. The book is also provided with all the technical apparatus one could desire. The critical bibliography and the many thumbnail biographies in the footnotes are even more welcome than the good set of maps. How thoroughly Mr. Woodward is in accord with contemporary views concerning history is shown by his pronouncement that "administrative changes were far more important than most of the personal rivalries and party alignments of the day" and still more by his perspective. Although he argues persuasively that the consideration of any aspect of his field must lead back to politics, he gives more than half his space to economic, social, intellectual, religious, and artistic developments and not much more than a sixth to parliament and parties. Foreign affairs, Ireland, and the empire divide about equally what remains. But it would be a grave injustice to suggest that the merits of the book lie merely in craftsmanship. In nearly all its parts it is illuminated with well-considered arguments and judgments. Witness the acute analyses of statesmen who especially command the author's regard. Thus he points out that Gladstone, coming from "the mercantile class . . . took politics as seriously as the manufacturers and merchants applied themselves to business; he felt the responsibilities of political life more keenly because a political career was not . . . the



accepted consequence of the station into which he was born". The remark has, of course, wide application and contains an interesting suggestion regarding the development of British government in the later nineteenth century. Disraeli, the Whigs, the men of Manchester, and the Tractarians do not shine much in these pages, but Mr. Woodward evidently wished to be fair to all of them.

The book is, indeed, so admirable that one wonders whether it might not easily have been more admirable still. Mere slips (*e. g.*, "Vienna" for "Verona", p. 198, and the statement that the cabinet dismissed Palmerston in 1851, p. 240) are few. So are overstatements, such as that all British opinion was unfriendly to Austria in 1859, and such understatements as that Irish Catholics merely "thought" they would receive emancipation after 1801. But other features of the book give rise to some questioning. One may ask whether a good many details and statistics might not have been left to monographs and space thus released for other uses. It is probably the need for compression that has made the treatment both of politics at Westminster and of foreign policy inadequate, to the point of being somewhat misleading in a number of cases. Despite the looseness of parties, changes in government did to some extent reflect changes in the strength and opinions of important elements in public life, and it seems rather unfortunate that the need for brevity should have caused Mr. Woodward to treat certain of them, and especially that of 1859, so summarily. As regards foreign affairs more discussion of Britain's policy in the Near East in 1828 and 1840, in Europe generally in 1848-49, and in connection with the extermination of the international slave trade would have been welcome. Some readers may also wish for specific treatments of such matters as the revival of royal prestige and influence; the thoughts and habits of what was, after all, the "governing" class; the particular traditions and intellectual background of the Whigs; the connections between politics, public opinion, and the press. Some may miss even more a discussion of the seeming anomaly presented by a country in which political democracy advanced rapidly while social stratification scarcely declined. Probably the absence of these general discussions is partly traceable to the fact that the topical arrangement has been followed so consistently. It takes some effort of the imagination to identify the public school lads of the chapter on "Education" or even the reformers responsible for "The Organization of a Civilized Social Life" with the maneuvering statesmen and politicians of earlier chapters. And Mr. Woodward, unlike Halévy, leaves "Religion" standing isolated, despite the conviction of so many nineteenth century statesmen that it was bound up with some of the most important aspects of Victorian life. Indeed, Lord Baldwin echoes some of his predecessors in believing that "important as political and economic questions are, the religious question is ultimately the most fundamental of the whole lot".

But for all the space these questionings have taken, they are only questionings. The established fact is that we have here an exceptionally useful and exceptionally praiseworthy book.

*Wesleyan University.*

HERBERT C. F. BELL.

*Lord Macaulay, Victorian Liberal.* By RICHMOND CROOM BEATTY. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 387. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Beatty has written a very readable book. He was able to secure access to Macaulay's Journal at Trinity College. Here and there he has, therefore, been able to add new information. In general, however, the additions are Macaulay's views of his contemporaries, which will not increase his reputation either for critical acumen or charitable judgment. The book is more successful in portraying Macaulay as a "Victorian liberal", though Whig would be a better term, than as the historian of the Revolution of 1688. Bearing in mind Macaulay's well-known address to the electors of Edinburgh in 1839—"I entered public life a Whig and a Whig I still remain"—it seems somewhat gratuitous to relabel his political faith. Professor Beatty's remarks on the *History of England* are rather conventional and trite. Perhaps his general attitude may be sufficiently indicated by mentioning his endorsement as "fairly true" of Croker's verdict that the *History* must be regarded chiefly as a historical romance. The analysis of the various essays would have been more to the point if they, or some of them, had been linked up with the history or used to illustrate Macaulay's general conception of history.

Mr. Beatty explains in his introduction that he found that Sir George Trevelyan's famous biography contained too little "factual adumbration as a background". Maybe so, but Sir George Trevelyan's background, however slight, shows traces of a master's hand while Mr. Beatty's is distinctly amateurish in spots. What would Macaulay have said if he could have seen the University of Cambridge described as the school or if he had read that "the authorities had elected him a Fellow of Cambridge"? It is amusing to see Professor G. M. Trevelyan cited as an authority for the statement that in 1832 it was necessary to obtain the royal permission before parliament could be dissolved and to see Sir Robert Peel described as "this ominous Lord". It is only fair to state that such signs of unfamiliarity with the English scene are unusual and that the background is better than these few samples may suggest. On the other hand, the relevancy of some of the background is hard to discover. The digressions on Bentham and Greville, for instance, are interesting enough but are scarcely necessary.

*Huntington Library.*

GODFREY DAVIES.

*Steam conquers the Atlantic.* By DAVID BUDLONG TYLER. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 425. \$5.00.)

THE centenary of the pioneer voyages of the *Sirius* and *Great Western*

doubtless inspired the appearance of two histories of transatlantic steam navigation. The first was *Rivalry on the Atlantic, 1839-1939*, by Commander W. Mack Angas, U. S. N. An engineer officer, he gives a useful and clear account of the development of the marine engine, but otherwise the book adds little to the knowledge already available in various earlier works. Mr. Tyler's volume, on the other hand, presents a large amount of new information. Carrying the subject as far as 1880, it is a piece of sound scholarship presented in readable fashion. Whereas most of the earlier steamship volumes dwelt chiefly upon the obvious steady increase of the ships themselves in size and speed, Mr. Tyler has asked himself many intelligent questions about the whys and wherefors of the whole steamship business and then, by means of extensive research in widely scattered sources on both sides of the Atlantic, has presented what seem to be very satisfactory answers. His investigations into the business methods and conditions which explain profits for some lines and heavy losses for many others should contribute much toward giving this volume a distinguished and permanent place in maritime literature.

Particularly valuable is his analysis of the early days of government shipping subsidies on both sides of the Atlantic. Drawing heavily upon Hansard and the *Congressional Globe* but also exploring many other official and unofficial sources, he has given for the first time a thorough and satisfactory explanation of the various considerations which led to the granting and withdrawal of subsidies. Cunard seems to have had pretty fair sailing throughout the period, but the lobbying and political opportunism connected with the Collins grants at Washington and the Galway grants at London reveal that the problems and methods connected with governmental aid to the merchant marine have not changed greatly in the last eighty years. Next to that, the economic analyses of profits and losses are perhaps the most significant aspects of an interesting account which covers almost every facet of the whole subject.

If any feature of the book is open to criticism, it would be the inadequate treatment of the sailing packets, which preceded the steamships and had already worked out many of the distinctive features of the North Atlantic shuttle service. The author's brief references to the packets contain some of the errors common to the older, incomplete accounts. One is also surprised at his citation of R. C. McKay's *South Street*, which was exposed by the reviewer as a piece of wholesale and inaccurate plagiarism and was withdrawn by the publishers. Those, however, are only minor shortcomings in a generally excellent book. It is well equipped with useful scholarly apparatus, including source references at the close of each chapter, several appendixes, and a long though uncritical list of works consulted. The book is superbly illustrated with dozens of reproductions of contemporary prints and paintings.

Princeton University.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

*The History of "The Times".* Volume II, *The Tradition Established, 1841-1884.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 622. \$5.00.)

CONFORMING to the general institutional pattern of the press—a private business-professional undertaking serving the public interest—the twenty-four chapters that make up this volume are divided equally between the public and the institutional aspects of the *Times's* history. They deal with the problems of journalism and newspaper publishing produced by the revolution in communications, the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and the rise of the competing penny press; with editorial organization and personalities, the organization and personnel of the *Times's* foreign service, and book reviewers; and with the relations of the editorial staff to the political leaders of the period and the relations of the *Times* to the world of events which it recorded and sometimes influenced—the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War, and the Franco-Prussian War.

The bibliographical appendix shows the great variety of sources consulted in the preparation of this volume. Most important are the manuscript collections at Printing House Square, which are much more extensive than for the earlier period dealt with in the first volume of this history (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 338). These include the editorial and business diaries, Delane's correspondence, the manager's letter books, and the Walter papers. Political correspondence, government archives, and printed works in great numbers have also been used.

John Walter II and Thomas Barnes established the pre-eminence of the *Times* by substituting for the patronage of persons and parties the patronage of the public. In the period covered by this volume John Walter III and J. T. Delane formed and consolidated "the tradition of The Times". Repeal of the taxes on knowledge and the competition of the new penny press forced upon the proprietor and his advisers the most important decision in the history of the paper. Should they reduce the price and popularize the content to meet the competition in circulation and reader appeal of the new journals? The decision was made in 1861 when the price was fixed at 3d. (unchanged until 1913). Behind the fixing of the price lay the decision to renounce national circulation supremacy, which the *Times* had enjoyed for forty years, to stabilize sales at 60,000, and to maintain the *Times* as a class paper wielding unique national influence. This was the tradition that prevailed for fifty years—no compromise with the new journalism or the new price; the *Times* must remain a newspaper "fit to be read by a serious, intelligent and discriminating English gentleman" (p. 307). The tradition operated in every department of the paper—until 1906 proofreaders were fined for every misspelled word that appeared in the paper. With its circulation supremacy gone and its prestige depending on the character, inclusiveness, and quality of its service, the *Times's* staff was more than ever concerned with the maintenance of a regular supply of early, exclusive, and

accurate information from the cabinet room, the foreign office, and the European chancelleries. Competition among editors for political connections amounted almost to courtship of the ministers. The usual bargain, which is as old as political journalism, was the assurance of a steady supply of exclusive information in return for editorial support. The *Times* made its bargains with Aberdeen, Palmerston, Clarendon, and Granville, but without impairing its reputation for independence.

Broad in scope, rich in detail, and in the main unbiased, this volume presents the history of forty odd years in the life of an important British national institution.

*The University of Virginia.*

ORON JAMES HALE.

*The British Common People, 1746-1938.* By G. D. H. COLE and RAYMOND POSTGATE. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. viii, 588, xxxiii. \$4.00.)

*English Radicalism, 1853-1886.* By S. MACCOBY. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. 432. \$5.00.)

THESE two volumes supplement each other. The first is the interpretative contribution of two mature scholars, Mr. Cole and Mr. Postgate, who, on the basis of their biographical and historical studies, have joined in this attempt to assess the fate of the British common people during two centuries. Dr. Maccoby, as in his earlier *English Radicalism, 1832-52* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 390), aims to get behind the outward governmental activities to the operations of private, unofficial bodies, whose agitations were so often responsible for legislation and administrative reorganization. Both volumes under review inevitably suffer from the multiplicity of questions included. The first covers two hundred years of time, with the all but unlimited material from diverse fields that has to be passed in rapid survey, though clarity in presentation and a vivid style grip the reader's attention and give surprising unity.

Dr. Maccoby, though with the advantage of a shorter period of time, is also the victim of many topics. It is perhaps pertinent to question whether some of the material presented might not have been omitted entirely or put into appendixes. The Crimean War, the Eastern Question, the colonies, Ireland, and India, to mention several topics, might have been summarized more briefly, as only incidentally germane to this survey. The reader is constantly provoked into attempts at reorganization. Would not the integration of the chapters be improved by placing the intellectual and cultural material discussed in the chapters on "Religion" at or near the opening of the book in order to reveal the revolutionary character of the age which witnessed the intellectual, scientific, and critical achievements of such men as Darwin, Lyell, Bauer, Straus, and Faraday? In this way might not the changing mood of England under industrialism and extreme individualism be grasped

at the outset and the hydra-headed form of radicalism be developed more clearly? Such a reorganization would save the reader no little confusion and would make the volume more interpretative and unified. The theme might then appear as "the struggle for the organization of a civilized social life", to borrow a heading from the recently published *Age of Reform* by E. L. Woodward. The reader might then see the radicals, each in his own movement—the economist, the churchman, the legislator, the reformer—working in dozens of "causes" for the change of social conditions. Perhaps a new edition of Dr. Maccoby's two volumes will achieve more adequately the simplicity of the scholar at ease with his subject, not belabored by his ideas but master of them.

*The British Common People*, in any one chapter, yields facts, ideas, and suggestions not only for the scholar but also for the man of affairs who may turn to particular subjects of special interest to him. The central theme of the book is the history of trade unionism as a part of the story of ordinary people. The separation of the common people from the rest of the population, in which the authors are only partially successful, may well be impossible of accomplishment. At the end of the volume a brief statement on the hidden forces which have repeatedly prevented violent revolution when conditions seemed ripe for it, as at the time of the French Revolution, the Chartists, and the General Strike, would have been most welcome. The authors' limitations of their survey go beyond those they mention—art, literature, science, and economic and political theory (p. iii). There is nothing on emigration or mechanics' institutes and little on schools or public health. Information on the absence of sports, parks, and libraries, in the chapter on "The Hungry Forties", for example, would have illuminated conditions of life.

*The British Common People* is a valuable interpretative summary. *English Radicalism*, thoroughly documented, breaks new ground for the scholar in spite of a heaviness of style that makes reading difficult. Each volume has the usual apparatus of index and bibliography, and *The British Common People* has valuable maps and charts as well.

University of California, Los Angeles.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

*Czechs and Germans: A Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia.* By ELIZABETH WISKEMANN. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 299. \$3.00.)

*Europe and the Problem of Czechoslovakia: Three Maps* [on one sheet 24 x 22½ inches]. (*Ibid.* 25 cents.)

THIS study, completed in April, 1938, is an excellent account of the relations between the Czechs and the Germans in Habsburg times and under the Czechoslovak Republic. Treading an impartial path, it is all the more im-

portant as a source of information because of the controversial nature of much of the writing on the subject in the past two decades and especially because of the enormous amount of misleading propaganda poured out by the Nazis in the months preceding Munich.

In the treatment of national minorities the small states of Central and Eastern Europe seem to have profited little by their own experience as suppressed nations. Outstanding among them, however, was the Czechoslovak Republic. With all its early failings, the republic had steadily progressed towards an administration that insured cultural rights for its minorities and general democratic rights for all. By 1938 it had not reached that goal, but it had progressed far beyond other Central and Eastern European states. Unquestionably the German minority received better treatment than any other, perhaps partly because of its numerical strength, which by the 1930 census amounted to 3,231,688 or 22.32 per cent of the total population, massed mainly in districts bordering on the Reich, and partly because of its economic strength. But whatever the cause, the fact remains that the German minority had achieved cultural freedom and was rapidly assuming its full share in the political life of the state.

In its modern phase the struggle between the Germans and the Czechs goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and this is told in simple, effective style. The early "Aufklärung" period is touched upon, and some attention is paid to the 1848 period and the increasing struggle in the decades that followed. The period since the World War is sufficiently treated to give a clear explanation of the social, cultural, and economic aspects of the minority problem without clogging the account with historical data. The story of the rise, growth, and tactics of the Sudeten German party is worth reading by itself. The book ends by confirming the Beneš policy of minority treatment as against the other three possible alternatives: (1) transforming Czechoslovakia into a federation of nationalities; (2) Sudeten Anschluss with the Reich; (3) accepting German expansion along the old lines of Mitteleuropa. The fact that the Hitler Reich has apparently chosen the third alternative does not necessarily settle the issue, even though the Nazis have proclaimed that the Czech question has been "settled once and for all".

Washington, D. C.

M. W. ROYSE.

*Den faglige Arbejderbevægelse i Danmark indtil Aar 1900.* Af HENRY BRUUN. I, *Til ca. 1880.* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1938. Pp. 632. Kr. 6.)

*Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsens uppkomst och tidigare historia, 1872-1900.* Av TAGE LINDBOM. (Stockholm: Landsorganisationen i Sverige, Tryckeriaktiebolaget Tiden. 1938. Pp. 421. Kr. 4.50.)

THE rise of labor to political power in the Scandinavian countries has been one of the most characteristic features of Scandinavian history during recent decades. A great deal of literature on the social, economic, and



political aspects of this development has, therefore, been published. In Denmark a more scientific study of the labor movement received an impetus when, in 1927, the Institute for the Study of History and Social Economy was founded. Henry Bruun's volume, which deals with the founding of the modern labor organizations in Denmark up to 1880, is one of a series of publications issued by the institute. In Sweden the late Sigfrid Hansson pioneered in writing the history of the labor movement. It was not until 1938, however, that a more scientific work on the history of the labor unions was written, namely, Tage Lindbom's doctoral dissertation, covering the period 1872-1900.

Earlier literature published in Scandinavia has to a certain extent influenced both Bruun's and Lindbom's works. Bruun's volume was planned several years ago by the institute, and the author is indebted to Povl Engelseft's and Hans Jensen's volumes published by the institute in 1931 and 1933. Lindbom is much more dependent upon the works of Sigfrid Hansson than a casual reader might suspect or than his footnotes indicate. This is not necessarily a weakness, and both authors have made distinct contributions. Bruun has ably tapped the labor press, while Lindbom has made extensive use of a source which is exceedingly difficult to handle—the unprinted and printed literature of the various labor unions. The use of different sources has undoubtedly influenced the style and interpretation of the authors, and Bruun has succeeded in catching the spirit of the labor movement. This cannot be said of Lindbom, even though he has a deep understanding and sympathy for the cause of labor. The fact that Bruun's work is written in Danish will circumscribe the number of readers of a volume that deserves a wider circulation. Bruun has succeeded in striking a balance that is rarely found, as he deals with the international aspect of the labor movement, the relationship between socialism and labor unions, and the importance of propaganda and education in the growth of labor unions.

If Bruun has not overplayed the Danish labor movement's indebtedness to Germany and England, it can be said that Lindbom has failed to stress Sweden's indebtedness to other countries, especially to Denmark. A number of typographical errors have crept into the latter's work, and the author appears to have been careless in a number of instances. An example of this is the following statement on page 113: "Nor did the Socialists at this time have a great influence in the rural districts. Gothenburg, however, was an exception" (translated). In the first place, Gothenburg was at that time (1886) and still is Sweden's second largest city, and in the second place, the influence of the socialists was not great in that city during the late eighties.

Both of these volumes explain the close relationship of the labor unions in Denmark and Sweden with the Social-Democratic Labor Party, though Bruun shows more effectively a dramatic awakening of labor to the need of

organization and how socialism provided the fervor of a religion with a will to conquer.

*Augustana College.*

FRITIOF ANDER.

*Mussolini in the Making.* By GAUDENS MEGARO. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. 347 \$3.50.)

THIS volume is based upon a painstaking search for and examination of sources in Italy, supplemented by direct observation of Mussolini at work and a personal interview with the dictator. In making his composition, the author has been controlled by the canons of rigorous historical scholarship, has rejected dubious documents, and has leaned far to the conservative side in his use of evidence. Thus in materials and methods the book may well be taken as a model for biographers, especially the psychographic school.

Mr. Megaro opens with a sketch of parental backgrounds. Mussolini's father was a socialist of the radical Marxian type in Romagna, "a classic land of political violence", a man of native talents given to vitriolic denunciations of the bourgeois and the Catholics. His mother was a strong, patient woman who labored unceasingly to keep her poverty-haunted and tempestuous household going at the best possible level.

Embarking early upon a socialist career, the young Mussolini, after a brief and unhappy season as a local schoolteacher, finally landed in the front ranks of radical agitators. He became a socialist journalist, denounced military service, condemned patriotism, cursed imperialism and all its works, espoused the republican cause, scorned the monarchy, defamed God and religion in the harshest terms, and consistently advocated the use of violence in political affairs. "The morality of Christ", he declared as a young man, "leads to brutishness and cowardice and perpetuates misery". Following the line of Gustave Hervé, he exclaimed in 1910 that the "national flag is a rag to be planted on a dunghill". Writing of the McNamara affair in the United States, Mussolini displayed his style by saying that "the freebooters of the piratical and sanguinary bourgeoisie of the West are preparing a fresh murder"—this before the accused confessed to the crime with which they were charged. Turning against the parliamentarians in the socialist party, he denounced parliament in vituperative language, seceded from the party, plunged into the advocacy of war on Germany, and ended as a fiery apostle of direct action, with himself as master of the rushing horde bent on the conquest of power. But Mr. Megaro closes his record about the year 1912, leaving us wondering whether, after laying this groundwork, he will not some day complete the story of the stormy agitator and give us a résumé of foreign opinion of the dictator, including American opinion.

Here in this volume is a straight and unadorned review of Mussolini's career in its stages before the World War, to be used as a check upon the

contentions of the dictator's detractors and upon the even more sickening falsehoods of his sycophants, especially the *Autobiography* of 1928, published in English but not in Italian, written, it appears now, by Richard Washburn Child, appropriately enough Warren Gamaliel Harding's ambassador of the United States to Italy—a biography which Mr. Megaro rightly characterizes as a “shameless literary fraud”.

In his youth Mussolini said “Down with the state in all its forms and incarnations. . . . I want to make a mark on history with my will, like a lion with his claws.” But respectability, Italian and foreign, has forgiven all the past now that the dictator is “sound” on property, law and order, militarism, and imperialism. *Sic transit indignitas mundi.*

*New Milford, Connecticut.*

CHARLES A. BEARD.

*Die Anfänge der Bauernbefreiung in Russland.* Von Dr. ROBERT STUPPERICH. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt. 1939. Pp. 214. 9 M.)

*The Russian Peasant Movement, 1906-1917.* By LAUNCELOT A. OWEN, Hackett Post-Graduate Research Student of the University of Western Australia. With a Foreword by Sir Bernard Pares. (London: P. S. King and Son. 1937. Pp. xix, 267. 12s. 6d.)

IN the face of an outpouring of books on recent agrarian experiments in Russia one feels that that country's earlier and more conservative attempts at land reform do not always receive the attention they deserve. The volumes by Dr. Stupperich and Dr. Owen are therefore most welcome, particularly since these books deal with two of the most far-reaching experiments of the former czarist regime.

The title of Dr. Stupperich's book is in a sense misleading. The author has not attempted to give a general account of the origins and development of the emancipation movement; instead, his interest lies in the various activities of one of serfdom's most persistent critics, the Slavophile Iurii Samarin, and in the influence which Samarin had upon the early and mid-nineteenth century reform movement. On the whole, he has written a clear, sympathetic, and carefully documented account of Samarin's political activities up to 1861; and in so doing he has provided a helpful corrective to the rather frequent neglect—particularly in more general histories—of the role played by the Slavophiles in nineteenth century agrarian reform. Yet this very emphasis upon the activity of Samarin and his associates is apt to give a distorted picture of the events preceding the emancipation. Not only is the work of government officials like Lanskoï passed over too rapidly, but the influence of certain economic interests upon the reform movement receives insufficient attention. Dr. Stupperich, in discussing the forces that molded the legislation of 1861, refers again and again to Samarin's demand that the serfs be freed with land; he does not, however, show how frequently this

demand was echoed by northern landowners who were accustomed to receiving dues in the form of *obrok* and who feared that emancipation without land might prove harmful to their interests.

In contrast with Dr. Stupperich's volume that of Dr. Owen is fairly broad in scope and quite emphatic in its treatment of social and economic movements. The reform program of Stolypin is really the core of the book, and the author devotes considerable attention to the economic aspects, the political aims, and the relative effectiveness—especially during the revolutionary year of 1917—of this “wager upon the strong”. Throughout his discussion Dr. Owen reverses the method that Stupperich has employed: there is no detailed consideration of personalities or even of the views of the sponsors of the new legislation, but one finds numerous conclusions regarding economic and political developments. In fact Dr. Owen's fondness for generalization seems, at times, to have been pushed too far, particularly with regard to his view that the mir had become so much a part of Russian village life that Stolypin's reforms could make very little headway. In support of this conclusion Dr. Owen cites certain figures revealing the limited growth of individual and consolidated peasant farms. He also emphasizes the widespread unpopularity of such farms in 1917, when the great mass of the rural population attacked them with the same readiness that they displayed in looting the estates of the *pomieshchiki*.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Owen is right when he insists upon the limited appeal of Stolypin's agrarian measures during the period 1906-17. But to go beyond this point and suggest that these measures were apparently doomed to failure seems to be flirting with a rather risky hypothesis. As a matter of fact the movement launched by Stolypin in 1906 did not come to an end eleven years later; it was merely interrupted by the disorders of 1917, and it was revived, with some success, during the period of the N E P. According to certain scholars, notably Cyril Zaitsev, the real death blow was not administered by a hostile peasantry but rather by the Stalinist policy of collectivization.

Dr. Owen should not of course be criticized for taking an independent stand and for disagreeing with a large number of economists and historians as to the value of Stolypin's reforms. But he might be taken to task for not paying more attention to the opinions of such scholars and for apparently neglecting to consult a sufficient number of their works. In fact there are surprising gaps in the bibliography. Articles or monographs by such economists as Dubrovski, Litoshenko, and Brutskus; statistical surveys of the type published by the Central Statistical Office; descriptive accounts of Russian village life in 1917 similar to the writings of Ernest Poole; books by political leaders like Victor Chernov—such materials have not been used as extensively as might be desired, and in many instances they apparently have not been consulted at all. There is likewise evidence of considerable carelessness

in the listing of books: Robinson's *Rural Russia under the Old Regime* is not even referred to in the bibliography, and Wallace's *Russia* is to be found only after the name "Mackenzie, Wallace D."

But even if one disagrees with some of Dr. Owen's conclusions and is inclined to question the method by which they have been reached, one cannot overlook their historical importance. Writers on economic history have perhaps been too eager to measure Russian social progress by Western yardsticks. They have condemned in perhaps too hasty a fashion such a "primitive" or "medieval" institution as the mir. And in so doing they may have ignored certain fundamental differences in national psychology which justified the retention of this institution in Russia at a time when its methods of land distribution appeared obsolete to the majority of European agriculturalists. Dr. Owen's book should, to a certain extent, challenge this Western point of view, particularly if the facts which he presents are combined with Stupperich's account of Samarin's attitude toward the mir. As an antidote to an aggressively orthodox and standardized approach to economic history the evidence presented in both of these volumes is worthy of serious consideration.

Stanford University.

MERRILL SPALDING.

*Friedrich Paulsen: An Autobiography.* Translated and edited by THEODOR LORENZ. With a Foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. x, 514. \$3.75.)

THEODOR LORENZ, favorite pupil, biographer, and translator of Friedrich Paulsen, has performed a most useful service in making available the autobiography of one of the most distinguished figures in the academic world of prewar Germany. The first part of this autobiography was published in German in 1909. The second half of the present volume, which deals with events from 1877 to Paulsen's death in 1908, is now published for the first time. It is not a complete translation of the German manuscript. Materials concerning personal and family relations, the editor tells us, have been abbreviated, but all entries regarding Paulsen's work as a university teacher and author are translated in full.

To educators Paulsen is known for his epoch-making reforms in German higher education, which broke down the rigid and long-dominant rule of the classics and gave equal standing to the modern languages and civilizations as well as to more practical studies. To students of philosophy he is known for his texts in philosophy and ethics, which went through scores of editions and were used in many American colleges and universities. But above all, Paulsen stands out as the most typical representative of the German academic world of the Wilhelmine epoch. Throughout his long and rich career in prewar Germany he was the stanch defender of *Lehrfreiheit*, of the tradition of free research and scholarship.

For the historian there are rich materials in this autobiography for the

social and intellectual life of nineteenth century Germany. The most famous figures in German scholarship pass before us as Paulsen records his experiences as student and teacher. It is not always with an attitude of reverence, however, that he speaks of the celebrities to whom he refers. His eye is keen to see their human frailties and above all their failings as teachers. Concerning Treitschke he writes: "His ungovernable temperament rendered him peculiarly insusceptible to historical justice. He knew only two categories: for or against the good cause; and in order to put down anything that warred against the latter, he regarded any means as justified—the good cause being the cause of Prussia" (p. 194). Droysen, in his lectures, he says, "did not . . . succeed in laying bare the ultimate forces and motives. He spoke with a great theatrical show of eloquence—theatrical in more senses than one; for he pretended to speak without notes, while in reality he read his words from small pieces of paper" (p. 195).

The publishers of the volume state that if Paulsen "were alive to-day he would undoubtedly align himself with those liberal and independent thinkers, such as Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, who have been exiled from the Third Reich". Such "ifs" of history are usually idle speculation. There is much in the autobiography of Paulsen, however, that might explain why German academicians proved to be such court flatterers in the reign of William II and why so few have dared to stand up for *Lehrfreiheit* under the brown regime. For one thing, Paulsen, although standing up in defense of Jews on several occasions, was already in the first stage of anti-semitism—that in which a distinction is made between "good" Western Jews and "bad" East European Jews (the same distinction was made in 1933 by Dr. Goebbels to a group of British reporters) and in which concern is expressed regarding the "dominance" of Jews in German intellectual life (pp. 266-67, 294, 383, 428, 434). Far more important, however, was the glorification of the militarist state. In a conversation with the Catholic leader, Reichensperger, Paulsen said: "I quite agree with Hobbes: the State can do no wrong" (p. 249). And in a passage on the Prussian army which sounds almost prophetic he wrote: "I am convinced that this asset of dependable power in support of the organized will of the Prussian state could be destroyed only by outrageous misgovernment or by ignominious defeat at the hands of an external enemy" (p. 223).

Queens College.

KOPPEL S. PINSON.

*Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série 2 (1901-1911). Tome VII, 7 juin-28 septembre, 1905; tome VIII, 29 septembre, 1905-15 janvier, 1906. [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des Documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1937; 1938. Pp. xxviii, 611; xxxiv, 591.)*

THESE two volumes of the admirably edited second series of French Diplomatic Documents cover the period from the fall of Delcassé to the

opening of the Algeciras Conference. Naturally the Moroccan question is the chief topic. One sees here how France, under Rouvier, with the strong support of England and the skillful advice of Paul Cambon in London, recovered from her fright at Bülow's intimidating methods and took a firmer and more dignified stand, first in agreeing on July 8 to attend a conference and then on September 28 in securing a program strictly limiting the subjects to be discussed at it.

Of particular interest to Americans are Jusserand's full reports of President Roosevelt's conciliatory efforts, both in regard to Morocco and the Russo-Japanese peace negotiations at Portsmouth, and his suspicions of the kaiser's "inconceivable suggestions". Jusserand also warned that it would be a dangerous boomerang, in view of American isolationist prejudices, to try to influence the United States delegates at the Algeciras Conference to come forward in defense of French against German interests. There is some new light on the fall of Delcassé in the interesting private notes (VIII, 555-67) of Senator Jean Dupuy, owner of the *Petit Parisien* and secret emissary between Rouvier and the German ambassador in Paris. The French documents also make a rectification of the German *White Book* account of the much-disputed Delcassé-Radolin conversations of March and April, 1904, a rectification which Bülow failed to make in a form satisfactory to the French.

Many interesting dispatches from French officials in Russia picture the chaos there resulting from the defeats in the Far East and the general strikes. Owing to these unhappy conditions Russian support of France was at its lowest ebb just at the moment in the long Moroccan trouble when France needed it most. Russia needed money, but the time was not favorable for the emission of a new Russian loan in Paris. Russia, however, intimated that in return for a loan the czar would intervene with the kaiser in favor of a more conciliatory attitude in regard to Morocco, and a financial arrangement was then made. Belgium also offered to take a pro-French attitude at Algeciras if France would grant a new loan for the development of the Belgian Congo, and this was likewise arranged. It is curious that just at this time, when the Russians were spending thousands of francs to bribe the French press, there is no mention of this sinister matter in the French documents. The only hint of it is the *Matin's* publication on January 8, 1906, of an optimistic and very misleading statement by the Russian finance minister, Kokovtsev. The French consul general at Warsaw characterizes "cet extraordinaire document" as "absolument inexacte" (VIII, 512-13). As to the true nature of the Björkö treaty of July 24, Witte gave some self-important and not quite accurate hints about it to the French ambassador in St. Petersburg in November and December following. The true facts are excellently indicated in the footnotes.

Of interest in view of later events are the English-French-Italian negotiations for the treaty delimiting their respective interests in Abyssinia and



arranging for the development of the Djibuti-Addis-Abeba and other railways in and near Menelik's empire. In southeastern Europe three troublesome topics recur most frequently: the civil war in Crete and Prince George's intolerable position, which finally led the powers to send a commission of inquiry; Abdul Hamid's obstruction of reforms in Macedonia, which was at last largely overcome by a naval demonstration by the powers; and the Serbo-Bulgarian commercial treaty, which was a rock of offense at Vienna and greatly increased the antagonism between Serbia and Austria which was to burst forth in war nearly nine years later.

*Harvard University.*

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Mein Kampf.* By ADOLF HITLER. Complete and unabridged, fully annotated. Editorial Sponsors, John Chamberlain, Sidney B. Fay, John Gunther, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Graham Hutton, Alvin Johnson, William L. Langer, Walter Millis, Raoul de Roussy de Sales, George N. Shuster. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1939. Pp. xxxvi, 993. \$3.00.)

THE particular interest of this book in the history of nationalist literature lies in the fact that it was written by a man in the midst of a struggle for dominance not merely over a nation but over competitors within and without his party. Hitler inveighs against his rivals in language almost as vivid as that which he uses against the Jews and certainly at greater length. During the course of this indictment he discusses fully the methods of achieving and maintaining political power over the party and the nation, and the theme of his book, if such an amorphous thing has one, consists of his demand for absolute personal authority. Standing out above the hodgepodge of views about the nation and modern culture, the usual stuff of any book by a nationalist, is the remarkable analysis of the problems of propaganda, party and governmental organization, the technique of leadership, and the conditions in which to carry out a revolution. Hitler frankly exposes the means which he has employed or will employ and shows that his technique is fundamentally the same for overcoming rivals and opponents within the German nation and statesmen representing foreign enemies—a combination of promises, menace, and bluff, used with an intuitive sense of timing.

Hitler brings his egocentric demand for power into conformity with the welfare of the nation and of mankind by way of three fundamental assumptions. The first provides the absolute test of ability, "the eternal privilege of force and strength" (p. 83). The second offers the basic social unit: "the folkish view of life corresponds to the innermost will of nature" (p. 581). The third, "the aristocratic principle in nature" (p. 83) or the natural principle of leadership (p. 666), establishes the necessary agency under which the folk can achieve most force and strength. These three principles, however, by no means exhaust the fertility of Hitler's imagination about nature.

Whenever he needs absolute proof for an assertion, nature swings obediently into line under the swastika and endows man with those instincts which render National Socialism not merely possible but inevitable. With the ready aid of his assumptions Hitler constructs a hierarchical order of culture in which rank depends upon the condition of the blood. The races of most mixed blood are condemned to the lowest place, while the Aryan, the purest and therefore the only creative race, is given the highest. Hitler does not make clear the relationship between the Aryan race and the German nation, but with the aid of nature's eternal laws and some semantic juggling he boosts the Germans to the top. Even among the Germans, however, he has to acknowledge the fact of racial mixture; but since some Germans have remained pure in blood, a glorious future for culture is assured. These few Germans are to be guided, of course, by the purest German, the purest Aryan, the born genius, the personification of the natural principle of leadership, Adolf Hitler. The *Führer* makes it all very simple and assures us that "by warding off the Jews I am fighting for the Lord's work" (p. 84).

Readers who expect details of Hitler's own story will find more of them in the editors' notes than in the text. These notes are fairly free from bias and are quite useful. Exceptions are those on pages 22 and 46, which do not accurately reproduce Hitler's thought, and one on page 341, the meaning of which is not clear. The translation attempts to be literal and unfortunately often leaves the reader to guess at Hitler's idea. The work is highly difficult to translate, and on the whole the task has been well done.

*The American University.*

EUGENE N. ANDERSON.

#### FAR EASTERN HISTORY

*Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1895-1905.* By PAYSON J. TREAT, Professor of History at Stanford University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1938. Pp. x, 291. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Treat has completed his three-volume study, based on diplomatic correspondence of the Department of State (now transferred to the National Archives) and covering the period from Perry's mission in 1853 until the end of 1905. The last volume records the rise of Japan to the position of a world power and concludes an era of good feeling between the United States and its original protégé, Japan. All matters of diplomatic concern between the two states from 1895 until 1906 are treated in this work, a concise and valuable summary and source book.

The scope of the study is necessarily limited, and the author carefully defines his aims and purposes in a clear, brief preface. Here and there in the course of the story he reminds his reader of the restricted scope of his project. He uses both published and unpublished official diplomatic correspond-

ence, chiefly between Tokyo and Washington but also from other capitals. Numerous documents of especial value are quoted in full. The United States had unusually reliable reporters at its service in Tokyo during those years. The book avoids any attempt to present a definitive or comprehensive account of the decade under review. The title of the book is strictly adhered to, and thus the activities of Theodore Roosevelt, for example, are not directly investigated.

The materials used are largely from instructions, dispatches, and notes to or from the Department of State, its diplomatic representatives, and Japan's diplomatic representatives. Other archives in the State Department do not appear to have been used; thus, the department's copy of Secretary of War Taft's "agreed memorandum" with Prime Minister Count Katsura, at Tokyo, recorded in a telegram dated July 29, 1905, to Secretary of State Root, is neither cited nor reproduced, although it is referred to (based on a source outside the department). However, this book is essential for any student of American-Japanese relations and not only offers otherwise inaccessible information for most students but also provides a reliable guide for further research.

The contents are divided into fourteen chapters (one for each year from 1895 to 1903, but two each for the last couple of years and one for "The End of an Era"), a short bibliography, and an index. The treatment is by subject for each year, and the chapter headings merely single out an important subject of diplomatic discussion. There are few errors. The author has not refrained from expressing opinions or judgments occasionally, yet they are moderate and undoubtedly fair. Suffice it to say, Professor Treat has finished his task (unless he proposes to continue into the new period after 1905) and may well rest on the laurels he deserves. What he set out to do has been accomplished in a scholarly, readable, and businesslike manner.

*The Department of State.*

JOHN GILBERT REID.

*Nationalism and Reform in India.* By WILLIAM ROY SMITH. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 485. \$5.00.)

LONG study and patient research have gone into the making of this scholarly and valuable book on the history of nationalism in India. Comprehensive in range and accurate in detail, it is packed with information chosen with care and admirably arranged and documented. On the whole, the author lets the facts speak for themselves.

A few exceptions but prove the rule. When, for instance, he says that the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 was meant to prevent land passing from agriculturists to moneylenders and other nonagriculturists and that the politically minded classes opposed it, he does not clearly bring out the fact that the act defined agriculturists not as persons engaged in agriculture but

as members of certain castes chosen by the British government. Again, with reference to the *Komagata Maru* incident, the author says that a great majority of Indian passengers on that ship were unable to comply with the immigration regulations of Canada and were therefore not allowed to land in British Columbia. As a matter of fact, the whole project of chartering a special ship was to comply in full with the immigration regulations of Canada and thereby claim the right to land.

Apart from a few such inaccuracies in detail, the author's fundamental approach to the problem of nationalism in India is colored by the orthodox concepts of the white man's burden and British trusteeship. In the very first paragraph of his book he says: "A large measure of Home Rule has been granted, but it is to be hoped that independence and the withdrawal of the small British army will be postponed until the people have learned to govern their country and to protect it from anarchy and invasion." Again, commending the slow pace of the Indianization of the Indian army, he says: "The political intelligentsia should welcome it because, under the new Constitution, they will govern as long as the British military element is there to protect them. If the army is ever completely Indianized, the martial classes will take charge of affairs and either establish a military despotism or plunge the country into anarchy." Increasingly the hypocritical philosophy of the white man's burden and British trusteeship is being discredited not only in India but elsewhere by scholars who have emancipated themselves from orthodoxy.

Poona.

P. KODANDA RAO.

#### AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Saga of American Society: A Record of Social Aspiration, 1607-1937.*

By DIXON WECTER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. xiii, 504. \$4.00.)

A THOUSAND historians and sociologists, very probably, have dreamed of writing "The Saga of American Society" and have not dared to try it. Their reticence was by no means due to reverence but rather to an all too vivid apprehension of the difficulties involved. What are the basic reasons why any society classifies itself? What have been the qualities and circumstances which warranted certain Americans in listing themselves in Society, spelled with a capital S? And having achieved this inclusion, how have they maintained it? Everyone who has written American social history has made some reference to these questions and offered some vast and vague generalizations in answer, chiefly valuable as revealing that no one has given serious, patient, and competent attention to the matter. There has been no dearth of books and articles about Society; magazines and Sunday newspapers bulge with its description, and publishers have put like journalism within cloth

covers. But when they are not unabashed sensationalists, the writers are usually fulsome toadies or frank revolutionaries—snob writers or mob writers.

Mr. Wecter is an entirely different kind of person. Seeking neither to exalt nor to degrade but simply to record and analyze, he sets out to write the history of social prestige in this country. It is a particularly eligible subject. Little social prestige was brought to this country by the immigrants of colonial times or since, though descendants have made the most of any such importations as their genealogists could discover. It is a homemade product, though those who worked upon the enterprise were powerfully stimulated by the example of feudal Europe. To deal with such a subject an author needs scholarship, good sense, and good humor. Mr. Wecter has them all, and, moreover, he writes smooth, fluent, and sparkling prose.

He starts with a philosophical chapter on Society as a form of poetry, a dramatization of the legend of a magic time when there were people who could do exactly as they wanted. Those whose circumstances permit attempt to live this dream, and others “stand admiringly as near as the police will allow to carriage entrances of opera-houses, the marquees of great doorways, and the steps of fashionable churches in June”, living it in imagination. The interest in the game flows from the competitive nature of man; its entrance fees and annual dues are property and leisure, the one supporting the other. Society people are supposed to be doing what other people think they would like to be doing if they had the time and money, and also if they knew how. This gift of knowing how is presumed to come from early training and particularly from the blood transmitted from ancestors who knew how.

Turning to the planter, the puritan, and the patroon, the reader finds himself in the hands of a well-informed historian who has not only combed over American materials but who knows enough of ancient Greece and Rome and medieval and modern Europe to make significant comparisons. With neither mercy nor malice he sums the evidence that colonial planters had no closer connection with the English gentry than did the New England merchants, who also had the grace to respect ability as such. He marks the retreat of aristocracy from public office and the control of its standards down to the low point of Jackson’s inaugural reception at the White House. During the next period how to get rich was not so much of a problem to some men as how to be rich in the proper manner. This was surely the ambition of the Roosevelts, the Rhinelanders, the Goelets, the Lenoxes, the Lispenards, the Astors, the California newcomers, and others in New York; but Mr. Wecter calls the roll as well in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, and Denver. The Jew is discussed as a factor in Society. There is a delicious chapter on the changing rules of etiquette and another on the evolution of the *Social Register*, with a pendant on the butler and his tribe. The sexes are parted for the moment, with first a history of the gentleman’s club and then one on

the increasing social rule of women in the nineteenth century. All this was nourished by every newspaper's "Society page", with its malicious offshoots like the rank *Town Topics*. There is a full treatment of astounding genealogical feats in honor of socially ambitious millionaires and elaborate reference to the five hundred American women who married titled foreigners at a cost of about a quarter of a billion dollars. This was, however, quite as dignified a way of spending one's way to public astonishment as Mr. Bradley Martin's famous ball costing \$369,200 (which might have built a handsome building or two for his alma mater, Union College).

Little in the history of social prestige escapes Mr. Wecter's vigilant eye. Even college fraternities have their place, to say nothing of the smart sports. In the course of time rules of decorum have been relaxed, as though they were not necessary. But one wonders if the Society revealed to us by Peter Arno is more of an asset to the Republic than that satirized by Charles Dana Gibson.

*Union College.*

DIXON RYAN FOX.

*Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742.* By CARL BRIDENBAUGH, Brown University. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 500. \$5.00.)

It is rich material that Professor Bridenbaugh has mined, and out of it he has fashioned a work of art. No future history of the colonial period of our national life can fail to be profoundly affected by the picture of the important emerging urban culture herein presented.

The author has selected the five largest towns of the period—Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Charles Town—and has traced the development of each from its village stage to its achievement of a genuine urbanism. Exhaustive soundings have been taken at three dates—1690, 1720, and 1742—and the intervening years clearly sketched. The material covers four main aspects—physical and geographic development, economic life, problems of urbanism which called for collective or corporate handling, and cultural and social life. By an ingenious arrangement the reader may, if he prefers, follow a single topic through the entire period.

Newspapers, minutes, correspondence, state records, broadsides, maps, and charts have all been ransacked thoroughly and have yielded a wealth of illuminating detail. The number of individual episodes mentioned must run into the thousands, and certainly hundreds of individuals have been rescued from documentary and archival obscurity and called in as witnesses to the various aspects of the urban way of life. Yet the work is never dull, and the well-turned phrase makes its own contribution.

It is this integrated picture of the urban way of life which is the book's chief contribution. The civilization therein revealed is a civilization founded upon commerce. The wealth that commerce brought was accompanied by

conspicuous consumption, it is true; but it also made possible a high degree of urbanity in living and was accompanied by a fair sense of civic responsibility. Wealth stratified classes and thereby made for social instability. Anglicanism gained with luxury, emotional revivalism with poverty. Moral laxity and crime completed an urban picture not unfamiliar to the present day.

This reviewer finds very little to criticize. There is a certain lack of sureness of touch to be noted in references to the legal or governmental aspects of the town and an occasional inaccuracy, such as the reference (p. 145) to New York City as a close corporation under the Dongan charter and the failure to note the successful artisan revolt in 1734 in the same city. In certain respects, 1742 was an unfortunate date at which to conclude the study, for this missed the subsequent civic awakenings of Philadelphia and Charles Town. It is not certain that the chronological treatment used is actually the most illuminating. It is true that in all the towns there were greater wealth and sophistication in 1742 than in 1690, regardless of size. On the other hand, to read the description of Charles Town in the later period is to note its striking similarity to that of seventeenth century Boston. The reviewer listed at least eighteen important parallels of this sort, which would indicate that the characteristics of urban development were functions of size rather than products of the particular decade in which the survey was made.

It is gratifying to note, in conclusion, that this work was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize for 1937.

*The American University.*

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH.

*Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1860.* By HENRY W. FARNAM. Edited by CLIVE DAY. With an Introductory Note by VICTOR S. CLARK. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1938. Pp. xx, 496. \$2.75.)

UNDER the title, "The Economic Utilization of History", Professor Farnam, who had been for twenty-five years a teacher of economics at Yale, pointed in 1913 a moral in connection with the history of economic history. He had more than a sociological view of life. He was a public man and not merely a cloistered fact-finder, meticulous though he was with respect to his methods of research studied in the Germany of Bismarck, exact in his compilation of source materials, devoted to the quietly laborious task of promoting the series of Contributions to American History issued by the Carnegie Institution and its offshoot, the Board of Research Associates. His active participation in group movements, such as the Association for Labor Legislation, and in the open forum of discussion about human values represented the concern of a scholar sensitive to the long sweep of social forces and vitally interested in those who toil. That the present volume should be published over his name, five years after his death, is a tribute to the persistent energy



he displayed in accumulating this material, to the regard in which his colleagues still hold him, and to his function in stimulating national thought about labor, surviving his physical death.

This book gives us the documentary history of American social legislation from the colonial through the middle period, bringing the report to the beginning of the violence into which the economic conflict broke in 1861. Documents are supplemented and enriched with flashes of philosophic judgment and references to a deeper past. Indeed Professor Farnam's own introduction compels thought about the documents at the outset of their study. He deals with elements determining economic history, the influence of institutions on economic life, the influence of economic conditions on institutions, and the effects of migration.

He admits that the line between social and general legislation is difficult to draw and so confines the history here set forth "in the main, to laws which affect the relation of the citizen to property and production". He does not branch off into criminal or family law, into law relating principally to wealth obtained by production, commerce, and finance. Two large divisions of the delimited field enclose two main legal areas, one relating to property and its distribution, the other relating to labor. Land policy, so commonly omitted from current thought on property, is in this record. Educational policy is remembered. Sickness insurance, it is evident, is now an inherited interest. Naturally the slave codes of North and South loom large, and these are given, state by state, constituting a third of the volume.

An important and elaborate feature is the bibliography, covering fifty-one pages. Twenty-one pages of index provide the clues to the network of thought and action which produced social legislation in America before the Civil War.

*New Milford, Connecticut.*

MARY R. BEARD.

*Colonial Justice in Virginia: The Development of a Judicial System; Typical Laws and Cases of the Period.* By GEORGE LEWIS CHUMBLEY. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1938. Pp. 174. \$3.00.)

*Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland.* By RAPHAEL SEMMES. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. 334. \$3.00.)

THESE two studies of colonial justice in the Southern colonies furnish a sharp contrast in methodology and results. Chumbley draws his inferences largely from nonjudicial sources. The printed court records for colonial Virginia have been indifferently utilized, and no serious attempt has been made to examine the abundant county court collections available both at the Virginia State Library and at county seats. Among sources consulted the author lists "James City County court records, Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of James City County and the City of Williamsburg", but this item has no relevance to the colonial period, as the colonial records of this county were

destroyed in the Richmond fire. Impressive collections at Accomac, Portsmouth, and Warsaw—to mention just a few of the older county seats—are entirely neglected. The important Yorktown records are cited, but no benefits seem to have been reaped therefrom.

Availability of the sources should be a criterion in determining topics for study. On this basis we have no right to expect much that is new from the author's treatment of *piepoudre* and Williamsburg hustings, and we are not disappointed. In his chapter on punishment the author follows a trail already blazed by Scott and makes no use whatsoever of newspapers, which, for the eighteenth century, are indispensable supplements to the judicial record in criminal matters. The chapter on labor adds nothing to materials industriously gathered by Bruce.

Among Chumbley's generalizations open to serious question are: (1) that by the time of Bacon's Rebellion class feeling had virtually subsided in Virginia; (2) that the Revolution was "the ultimate effort to obtain relief" on the part of the debtor group. Most scholars would not accept the first and would feel that the second represents a dangerous oversimplification. The legal machinery of the province is depicted by the author as largely devised to delay creditors' claims. There is some justification for this view, but consideration of the foreign attachment procedure would have served to adjust the scales more equitably.

Aside from fundamental criticisms of method and conclusions, doubts might justifiably arise as to whether a study, purporting to treat colonial justice in Virginia, which concentrates on a narrow strip of real estate between the York and the James is truly representative and valid for all Virginia—tidewater, piedmont, and frontier.

Semmes's treatment of the criminal machinery of colonial Maryland is based almost entirely on judicial sources—those which have been published in the *Maryland Archives*. The two recent volumes of county court records and the four earlier provincial court volumes are in substance the complete bibliography. Employing a simple narrative style, the author has pretty thoroughly exploited the printed criminal litigation in these early counties. Chapters dealing with such matters as housing, clothing, and theft, the regulation of livestock, drunkenness, profanity, and witchcraft, sickness, surgery, and burials reveal the wealth and variety of resources buried in the judicial soil of tidewater Maryland.

The main queries raised by the study are: (1) whether a span of some twenty years is not too narrow a period from which to draw conclusions as to the administration of criminal law in the counties; (2) whether the Eastern Shore is not unduly favored in this examination; and (3) whether, even for the period ending in 1676, full use has been made of the available resources. The risk of confining one's investigations to too limited a period is brought out by the author's treatment of larceny. Thus, an examination of

court decisions following the passage of the act of 1681 would show that larceny in Maryland was generally not punished capitally after that date. Three eastern counties and one western—Charles—were examined by the author. The total population of these eastern counties for the period in question was almost treble that of the single western county. If the terminal date of the investigation had been pushed forward somewhat and cases had been included from the unpublished archives of the Ann Arundel and Baltimore county courts now at Annapolis or of Prince George's county at Upper Marlboro, a better-balanced study would have resulted. Even for the Eastern Shore the full resources available for the years prior to 1676 were not utilized, notably those at Princess Anne, a most important depository for the early period. The published provincial court records consulted by Mr. Semmes do not go beyond 1666, and yet he has included numerous county court decisions subsequent to that date, a number of which went up on appeal. He does not give, therefore, the final outcome of such litigation.

Occasionally the author's exposition of the law makes it seem static. From his statement that "to slander another is not a criminal offense" it would be incorrect to infer that this was so in colonial times. In Maryland and Virginia oral defamation was frequently prosecuted by the criminal machinery. The Maryland act of 1654 makes this abundantly clear. According to Semmes, servants were successful in almost all suits instituted by them to win their freedom (p. 283). Had the unpublished sources been considered as well, the ratio of cases in which the court denied freedom would have been found to be about one to three.

Subject to these qualifications, the author has treated the material at hand systematically and thoroughly, and his conclusions are carefully documented. His exposition of the servant problem shows a real insight into a major question before the colonial courts and is a valuable supplement to Macormac's early study. Of crime and punishment in early Maryland there is still much to be said, but this volume is a convenient and useful spring-board for broader and deeper investigations.

*City College, New York.*

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

*Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development.* By SHAW LIVERMORE, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Buffalo. [The Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law, edited by Julius Goebel, Jr.] (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1939. Pp. xxx, 327. \$3.50.)

THE author of this volume considers it a good example of the co-ordination of the social sciences, for, being an economist, he has written a historical treatise to illustrate a phase of legal development. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries corporations could be created only by special act of government, and monopolies or special privileges were conferred upon

them. But groups of men could organize voluntarily for commercial or religious purposes and carry on their operations almost as if they were legal corporations. This practice was carried far among the New England puritans, and in the eighteenth century, because of the unpopularity of monopolies and the passage of the Bubble Act, voluntary associations came to be widely used among businessmen. The great American land companies which were organized between 1745 and 1800 are taken as illustrations of this tendency and as furnishing a link in the chain of development between the great chartered companies of the seventeenth century and modern corporations created under general statute. The development here was one away from special privilege to a more generally accessible form of privilege and might be said to represent one of the processes in the development of democracy. Whether the choice of the land companies as an illustration of this transition was a happy one seems to the reviewer to be doubtful. It is true that the organization of land-speculating groups was purely a matter among the speculators, but their principal object was to obtain patents and charters from the government, and some of them even hoped to found new colonies. The fact that none of the colonial groups ever received a royal patent was not in accordance with their plans.

About half the volume is devoted to the history of various land companies, and the other half is taken up with discussion of earlier examples of association and with the legal and mechanical aspects of the question. The historical data are taken largely from secondary accounts, and not much is added to our knowledge of the land companies. Special attention is paid to questions of organization and machinery and very little, if any, to the political and social phases of land speculation. Such a book hardly forms a proper basis for the formulation of theories regarding land speculation or the frontier movement in general, yet the author does not hesitate to pass judgment on these matters. For instance, on page 90 he speaks of modern writers who have advanced the "controvertible thesis that speculation in land was the absorbing attraction of the frontier". He does not explain how he happens to know that the thesis is controvertible, his opinion apparently standing on its own merits. Since, however, his book is devoted to the subject of companies which were organized to speculate in land and since the area involved covered a large part of the ungranted acreage within our original national boundaries, his work would appear to controvert his own statement.

For one who has relied so largely on secondary sources, the author's disparagement of the opinion of other writers on the subject is interesting. He exhibits a special dislike for those "Beardian" historians who have found fault with the methods employed by some of the land companies. He is not alone in taking this attitude; but if bribery and the use of official position for the clandestine feathering of one's own economic nest—and no one can

deny that many, though not all, of the land companies used such methods—is not to be condemned, where then should the line be drawn between honesty and dishonesty? The author cites with approval certain historians who have attempted to whitewash the Yazoo land speculation in order to exculpate James Wilson and maintains that political ambition was the motive behind the opposition in Georgia. Yet General James Jackson did not resign from the United States Senate and become a member of the Georgia legislature in order to promote his political fortunes; and Gideon Granger, the Postmaster General, did not advocate the cause of the speculators before Congress in order to serve his country.

It is obvious throughout the book that the author has depended too largely upon secondary works and that his knowledge of the land companies is limited.

*University of Virginia.*

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

*The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement, 1748-1792: A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier.* By KENNETH P. BAILEY, University of California at Los Angeles. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1939. Pp. 374. \$6.00.)

Mr. BAILEY undertakes to tell the story of the Ohio Company from its inception in 1747 to its last futile attempts to secure recognition for its claims from the new United States. He has analyzed the making of the grant, has worked out biographies of the company's members, has told the story of its first explorations and trade, of its rivalries with Pennsylvania traders, and of Dinwiddie's eager if fruitless efforts as its partisan to enlist a Virginia assembly dominated by tidewater burgesses in the Dominion's boundary interests and Indian trade. He has told of the years 1753, 1754, and 1755, of the company's necessary quiescence during the Seven Years' War, of its disastrous attempts to cope with the new policy of restricting Western settlement, of Mercer's amalgamation of its interests with those of Indiana and of Vandalia, and of its gradual demise. In general his materials are adequate, and his story if not always new is always well told. His bibliography is good, except that his accounts of manuscript collections and repositories are sometimes a little misleading.

To the present reviewer's mind, Mr. Bailey has not solved the puzzle of how the Ohio Company acquired the ministerial influence in London to frustrate Gooch's attempt to block it in 1747. He does not adduce sufficient evidence for his contention that alarm at French encroachments and determination to defend and enlarge colonial trade and boundaries dictated the ministry's benevolence. Before 1752 there was ministerial uneasiness at French encroachments in Nova Scotia, on the Kennebec, on Lake Champlain, at Niagara, and in the West Indies, but not on the Ohio. The source and motive of the force that pushed through the Ohio Company grant are still a problem.

Fully recognizing every scholar's right to his own generalizations, the present reviewer has to differ with some of Mr. Bailey's. The fur trade never was to France "what the gold of Mexico and Peru was to Spain" (p. 18), least of all the fur trade of the Ohio. The French diplomat who in 1755 pronounced the whole trade of the Ohio not worth a thousand pistoles (*Aff. Étr. Corr. Pol. Angl.* 438:147) was not far from the truth. In that region security and not economic interest dictated France's aggression. Far from being in a strong position there in 1748 (p. 19), France had a most precarious hold from 1746 to 1752; English traders, despite the supineness of their colonial governments, disastrously undermined her influence and prestige with half the Indians of the Northwest. "By the close of the King George's War in 1748" (p. 21) it may have appeared to the French that the Ohio Valley was the most vital part of the territory disputed between the two crowns; it certainly had not to the English.

The publishers could have done a better job of checking and proof-reading for Mr. Bailey. "Céloron de Bienville" should not appear, even though "Blainville" is added in parentheses in the index. In the bibliography (p. 334) "Douned, Randolph C." for "Downes, Randolph C." is unpardonable.

*University of Illinois.*

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

*A History of the United States Marine Corps.* By CLYDE H. METCALF, Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. Marine Corp. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1939. Pp. xv, 584. \$4.50.)

THIS is a readable and entertaining book on one of the branches of the armed forces of our country, which, since the first year of its existence, has seen more fighting in more places than either the army or the navy. In addition to furnishing the ships of the navy with marine guards and sharing in all the battles and operations in which the sea service took part, the marine corps can pride itself on having a heroic and picturesque chronicle of its own. One hundred and eighty times have the marines landed on foreign soil to protect American interests, quell incipient revolutions, and campaign against hostile armed forces, while in the intervals of peace their prompt and timely action in the Philippines, Hawaii, China, Nicaragua, and Haiti has more than once made it obvious that the statement "The Marines have landed and have the situation well in hand" is no mere catch phrase.

The author, who is the officer in charge of the historical section of the marine corps at Headquarters in Washington, has had access to all the official records, and he has used his sources in the most scholarly fashion. There was a real need for the book, for no complete record of the marine corps has appeared since the publication of Aldrich's and Collum's histories many years ago. One follows with growing interest the physical and material growth of the organization from its inception in colonial times through the various wars. The descriptions of the expedition against the Barbary

corsairs in North Africa and the operations during the Mexican War are extremely well done, the narrative of the landings in China, Korea, and Japan are full of interesting details, while the records of the various interventions in Haiti and Nicaragua present a valuable study in foreign policy. The concluding chapters deal with the participation of the marine corps in the World War, which the author considers by far its greatest experience. He has done full justice to this part of his subject and has presented a clear, accurate, and entertaining account of the various battles in which the "soldiers of the sea" had no insignificant share. The book is well printed, the illustrations are well chosen, and there is a full index. Unfortunately the lack of space and time prevented the inclusion of a bibliography of original and printed sources.

Paris.

ROBERT W. NEESER.

*The Biography of a River Town: Memphis, its Heroic Age.* By GERALD M. CAPERS, JR. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. x, 292. \$3.50.)

*Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America.* By CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN, Smith College. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 425. \$4.00.)

*The Small Town in American Literature.* By IMA HONAKER HERRON. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 477. \$4.00.)

Two of these volumes, Mr. Capers's study of Memphis and Mrs. Green's study of Holyoke, are notable among the growing literature now seeking to exploit the rich resources of local history. Each in its way is excellent, the former relatively brief, based primarily on printed sources, and pretending "to be no more than a comprehensive outline of the history of Memphis before 1900", the latter much more detailed, based on extensive manuscript records of industries, churches, societies, and individuals, and filling out the picture of the Mid-Connecticut Valley in its industrial heyday already partly disclosed by earlier studies.

Yet both of these volumes reveal the fact that adequate techniques have yet to be developed for interpreting local materials and integrating descriptive detail with generalized data. The characteristics of these evolving communities might have come out more clearly if the census and other generalized materials had been used to provide a continuous picture of the changing pattern of local life into which the details of specific activity could be fitted. Both studies, especially *The Biography of a River Town*, tend, in personalizing the community, almost inevitably to identify it with its articulate, self-conscious, or conspicuous elements. One sometimes wonders who constitute the "community".

In his story of Memphis Mr. Capers has noted chiefly the external forces



impinging on the city as a whole: geographical factors, international struggle for control of the Mississippi, flatboating, steam navigation, plague—these are the *dramatis personae* of the narrative. Emphasis on these events of national scope and significance reflects his contention that “local history, without perspective and without some correlation between the local and the national scene, may be good antiquarianism—but historically it is almost worthless” (p. ix). Of the internal structure of the evolving community there are sporadic glimpses rather than a continuous picture. The chronological arrangement, with what appears to be the dominant event or events of each period highlighted, gives a lively narrative and confirms the author’s assumption “that a scholarly work need not necessarily be a dull one” (p. ix).

The subtitle of Mrs. Green’s study of Holyoke reveals its central emphasis. Much the strongest part of the book is that which deals with the industrial development of the city through successive periods: “The Regime of the Cotton Lords”—the Boston promoters who sought by damming the Connecticut to capitalize on industrial expansion in various fields; “Local Industrial Development, 1859-1873”, after the collapse of absentee ownership and control; “The Paper City, 1873-1893”, when the combination of locational advantages and the success of existing firms had made paper the outstanding industry; “The Rise of the Trusts, 1893-1903”, as Holyoke enterprises became absorbed into various trusts after the strain of the depression following 1893; “Management and Labor, 1903-1922”. The latest stage, the shrinkage of New England’s textile industry and the closing of local plants in such old centers as Holyoke to consolidate with operations in other centers, is mentioned only on the last page of the book.

The industrial history is more successfully told than that of the concomitant aspects of community development. Much excellent material has been dug out of varied sources and is presented in the chapters on community problems, labor, schools, religion, social life, and the growth of civic consciousness. But a dynamic picture of the evolving community, integral with the story of industrial development, fails to emerge.

In contrast to the high degree of realism with which these two authors view specific towns, Miss Herron’s attempt to approach the “small town” in general through literary media shows both superficiality and confusion. In this study of the small town in American literature, the “small town” serves mainly as a thread upon which to string what is virtually a history of American literature. The book which results is blurred, lacking focus, organization, and discrimination. In her conclusion the author notes: “some village patterns, richly embroidered with the bright threads of fancy, by no stretching of one’s imagination could be mistaken as mirrors held up to nature. . . . On the other hand, some users of other community designs, thoroughly familiar with the life they sought to portray, have created pictures conforming more or less to actuality” (p. 429). Yet in her text she fails to distin-

guish those materials presented as fanciful from those presented as realistic pictures of small-town life. The reader is never sure whether it is an actual village or a literary creation about which he is reading. One suspects that the author's familiarity with the small town has been derived from literary sources to such an extent that she herself is unaware of this confusion. The subject of this book deserves a more realistic and discriminating treatment.

*The American University.*

CAROLINE F. WARE.

*The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863.* Edited by AMELIA W. WILLIAMS and EUGENE C. BARKER. Volume I, 1813-1836. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1938. Pp. xxi, 526. \$3.25.)

THE editors of this volume have essayed an important task—no less than the publication in six volumes of all the available writings of Sam Houston. This first offering of the proposed series covers his life from 1813 to the end of 1836. In its preparation Professor Barker assumes the role of promoter and consultant, while most of the detailed work falls to Miss Williams. This division of function assures the quality of the work.

Nineteen pages suffice to cover Houston's youthful activities in the Tennessee militia, in the regular army, and as Indian agent and budding politician. The few papers of this early period reveal many of the fiery qualities which on occasion Houston did not hesitate to use in addressing his superiors—even the impeccable Calhoun. A hundred pages are devoted to Houston's congressional career—chiefly to his speeches, which are of no particular significance. His few letters are largely devoted to the political fortunes of General Jackson, his early friend and patron. In turn, Jackson advances his protégé to the governorship of Tennessee, a post that aroused expectations of higher things.

These hopes were destroyed by the unfortunate marital tangle which drove the volatile Houston into the Western wilderness. To this obscure but tantalizing episode the volume affords no new clues. For the next six years Houston's activities alternate between the Indian frontier, where he is agent to his boyhood friends, the Cherokees, and other tribes, and Washington, where he tries to right the wrongs suffered by his Indian wards and engages with New York capitalists in some uncertain land deals. These speculations call for the publication of letters written by James Prentiss, the only ones aside from Houston's that appear in the volume. During this period Houston makes a visit to Texas in 1833, during which he reports conditions to Jackson and applies for a divorce in Nacogdoches. While one brief reference suggests a possible secret plan concerning Texas (p. 235), there is no evidence to show that Houston was then promoting any "conspiracy" against that Mexican province.

Houston again appears in Texas, as a settler in 1835 (p. 292). He issues his first military proclamation on August 29 of that year from Nacogdoches

(p. 298) but does not become commander-in-chief of all the Texas forces until March 4, 1836 (p. 361). The intervening pages and the one hundred and fifty that follow show very clearly the difficulties encountered by him and his associates in organizing a government and army for the revolting Texans and in carrying to success the campaign that ended in the battle of San Jacinto. The remainder of the volume is given to his messages and routine correspondence as president of Texas during the last months of 1836.

There is no index—that evidently is reserved for the final volume. The footnotes, largely devoted to persons mentioned in the text, abundantly attest the value of the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the voluminous monographic output in Texas during the last forty years, not to mention older histories. A few typographical slips have been noted. Some of the present owners of Houston letters refused to permit their publication. It is to be hoped that this initial volume of an important noncommercial undertaking will change their attitude. The editors feel certain, however, that they will be able to present the greater part of Houston's writings, and this abundantly justifies their scholarly offering.

*Northwestern University.*

ISAAC J. COX.

*The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860.* By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, with the collaboration of JENNIE BARNES POPE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xiv, 485. \$3.75.)

DURING 1815-1860, particularly in the decade following the second British War, the merchants of New York established their city as "an easy first among American ports". This masterly volume clearly, dramatically, and authoritatively tells how it was done. New York had great natural advantages and some disadvantages. Natural advantages alone, however, do not account for the port's eventual pre-eminence. Nor was it predestined, except perhaps in a strictly Calvinistic sense, that New York should handle the trade of the Cotton South. Here lay the secret of New York's success: "It drew to itself the three major trade routes—from Europe, from the southern ports, and from the West." New Yorkers took the initiative in building upon their port's fortuitous advantages. The auction law of 1817, the establishment in 1818 of the "first regular ocean liners", steamboat transportation, the Erie Canal, opened in 1825 (the author carefully corrects exaggeration of its unquestionably great importance), the practice of New York flour-and-grain merchants of "advancing a considerable part of the purchase price", low wharfage rates—all these were factors in New York's supremacy. New York forced itself as carrier upon the passive South; Southern items made up 55 per cent of its exports in 1822. Success begot success. New York's position as an entrepôt drew to it even the domestic goods produced in the Boston area, and shrewd Yankees developed their adopted city at the expense of their native region.

Noteworthy among the eighteen chapters are those on the coasting trade, commerce with Latin America, water-front officialdom, and "human freight". The more familiar topics are equally well handled.

The author has left in his text only what is essential, segregating the rest of his material in thirty-one varied appendixes which, interesting in themselves, would have rendered the narrative a dumpling indigestible to all save strong-stomached specialists. The text is full of interesting information: "the ancient bed of the Hudson" is "a gorge deeper and wider than the Grand Canyon"; "Portland is 414 miles nearer Rio de Janeiro than is New Orleans"; the first crossing of the Atlantic entirely under steam was not until 1838; New Orleans from 1819 to 1860 was second among American cities in the number of immigrants entered. An item particularly consoling to a person on a Cunard ship in wartime is that "for seventy-five years . . . [the Cunard line] had not lost a single passenger"—an effect not entirely spoiled by the parenthetical "until a German submarine sank the *Lusitania*". This volume—inevitable comparison—has something of the piquancy of the Morison maritime classic together with greater value, within its own limits, as a reference work. The more than fifty illustrations are well chosen, and the bibliography is a model of arrangement and cross reference, making regrets for the absence of footnotes, omitted from an already ponderous volume, seem rather pedantic. The reviewer's detection of only one error—when Astor "peddled in the streets" he was not "an immigrant fresh from Waldorf", having worked four or five years in London—sufficiently indicates his opinion of the accuracy of this work.

Vassar College.

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER.

*Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress.* By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.  
(Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1939. Pp. 320. \$2.50.)

WE are more and more accepting the opinion of Emerson, Carlyle, and others that "there is properly no history but only biography" and that nothing cuts down more fast and far through the strata of past time than the diamond drill of one man's life. The career of Orestes A. Brownson is an illustration. Born in Vermont, a Calvinist, in 1803 and dying in Detroit, a Catholic, seventy-three years later, this harsh and turbulent, uneducated, powerfully intellectual man reveals more vividly than a dozen formal books of history how it felt to be alive in the America of his day. No man of his time touched the American reality at more points than he. Few Americans have ever seen the political, social, and religious problems of our country more clearly than he did or have set themselves to answer those problems with a deeper sense of responsibility. Mr. Schlesinger, son of the well-known Harvard historian, is writing American history in his brilliant and exciting life of this almost forgotten man.

Using the advantages of backward perspective, Mr. Schlesinger does not

find Brownson so bewildering as did Theodore Parker, who proposed to write a study of Brownson almost a hundred years ago. Parker described Brownson as "a man of unbalanced mind, intellectual always, but spiritual never; heady, but not hearty; roving from Church to Church; now Trinitarian, then unbeliever, then Universalist, Unitarian, Catholic—everything by turns but nothing long; seeking rest by turning perpetually over and becoming at last a man having experience of many theologies but never religion; not a Christian, but only a verbal index of Christianity—a commonplace book of theology". Mr. Schlesinger shows that the man's life was a pilgrimage, with a definite beginning, middle, and end. The explanation of all his tergiversations, we are told, is to be found in his lifelong search for intellectual and spiritual certainty. This it was that led him through half a dozen sharply contrasting radicalisms to a final position not indeed of calm and rest but of almost savage conservatism. Clearheaded even to a fault, he was dragged onward by a fierce and headlong logic often at odds with common sense. Hitherto Brownson has seemed scarcely credible, to those at least who have sampled his virile close-knit prose only here and there and have found themselves unable to resolve his patent self-contradictions. Mr. Schlesinger shows how the man moved from point to point of his intellectual pilgrimage. He gives us back an authentic American in the place of what was becoming a phantom.

This book is a model of the succinct biographical method by which facts are made to speak for themselves. It moves swiftly, with a lunge and drive that carry the reader onward almost irresistibly. The style of it is not unlike the style of Brownson's writing itself, which Mr. Schlesinger characterizes as "vigorous, forthright and clear, lacking in subtlety and variety, gaining in cogency by its rude and unadorned strength".

*Trinity College.*

ODELL SHEPARD.

*Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer.* By RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW, Professor of American History, Syracuse University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1939. Pp. vi, 501. \$4.00.)

THIS is an exceedingly fine biography. Gerrit Smith was a wealthy landholder, a businessman, and a Christian gentleman. His philanthropic spirit and his reforming zeal drew him irresistibly into nearly all of the benevolent enterprises of his time: temperance, abolition of slavery, peace, prison reform, emancipation of women, and education. He was intermittently but nonetheless zealously a vegetarian, an antitobacconist, an advocate of home and foreign missions. He preached on occasion, dabbled at law, and served some time in Congress. Few men in American history have combined such a multitude of interests with such spirited individualism. This combination deprived him of primacy of leadership in any one of the many reform movements, made him appear to be irrational and unorthodox to his fellow

reformers on occasion, and frequently gave misdirection to his liberal benefactions. He was, above all, intensely human.

The difficulties confronting the biographer are at once apparent. Professor Harlow met them skillfully by not attempting to write the history of the reform movements or to rewrite the history of the United States around the life of Gerrit Smith. The biography, therefore, is replete with human interest and free from any attempt at sweeping interpretation or apology. The reader will find in it an excellent account of Smith's connection with the John Brown episode and subsequent repercussions, new evidence of a conviction among abolitionists that force would have to be employed ultimately to overthrow slavery, and valuable data on the transition from the "one idea" to a complete program for political action by the Liberty party men.

The chapters dealing with the rise and decline of political abolitionism are the least satisfactory part of the book. Smith was one of the original Liberty party men. He remained with the Liberty party to its bitter end in 1854. Faithfully portraying Smith's connection with the party until its demise, the author then concludes: "Political Abolitionism was an experiment, serving its purpose perhaps in providing a medium through which the antislavery forces could work for a time, but ineffective in bringing about the freedom of the slaves" (p. 192). The error lies in an interchange of the terms "Liberty party" and "political abolitionism". The two terms are not synonymous after the campaign of 1844. The great majority of the political abolitionists left the party at that time and labored diligently for ten years to consolidate their ranks behind a complete platform for political action. They succeeded in 1854, the very year in which Gerrit Smith and a few die-hard Liberty party men held their final convention.

The volume has no bibliography, and the reader is always in doubt as to the location of letters so abundantly cited in the footnotes. It is the one really serious criticism of an otherwise excellent piece of work.

*University of Michigan.*

DWIGHT L. DUMOND.

*Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854.* By PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE, WILLIAM HENRY CHASE WHITING, FRANÇOIS XAVIER AUBRY. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER, Washington University, in collaboration with AVERAM B. BENDER. [The Southwest Historical Series.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1938. Pp. 383. \$6.00.)

THE relative importance of the four journals included in this volume might be inferred from the order of their inclusion. After a detailed and highly informative biographical introduction, the well-documented journal of Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke (pp. 65-240) offers an illuminating recital of the famous march of the Mormon Battalion from Santa Fé to San Diego, October 13, 1846-January 29, 1847. Cooke's story has been told in a number of other versions, both officially and privately, but it is a

satisfaction to find his original account given its proper place in this documentary series. Not only is the Cooke journal of historical importance; it has at times considerable literary merit. If Cooke was regarded by some of his ill-disciplined but good-natured Mormon volunteers as something of a martinet, at least the difficulties which he overcame in the supplying and transportation of the first wagon train from Santa Fé to southern California reveal him as a forceful and vigorous leader of men. That he understood some of the rudiments of diplomacy, also, is indicated by his appeals to both Mexican officials and Indian chiefs.

Less detailed and rather inferior in style is the journal of Lieutenant William Henry Chase Whiting (pp. 243-350), whose small party of soldiers, civilians, and guides attempted the marking of a trail from San Antonio to Paso del Norte, February 21-May 24, 1849. The round trip between these points, however, was of some importance in the exploration of the Pecos valley and the Big Bend country of Texas, and Whiting's account of Indian trails and habits, his relations with Chief Gómez and other Apaches, and his descriptions of Mexican border conditions are of no little significance to the historian.

Two somewhat sketchy diaries of François Xavier Aubry complete the volume (pp. 353-83). The diarist was a typical Western borderman, who had, as he remarks, "no fancy" for the use of a pencil. In consequence his journals are bare chronicles of what might well be considered hair-raising adventures with Indians and of stirring hardships if one had more records of them. Their importance lies in Aubry's recording of two journeys eastward, from Tejón Pass to Albuquerque (July 10-September 10, 1853) and from San José to near the Zuñi pueblos (July 6-August 16, 1854), over routes approximating those of the present Santa Fé lines through northern Arizona and southern California, along the once much-discussed thirty-fifth parallel line.

In format the quality of previous volumes is maintained, including the useful map at the close of the work. Only one misprint (p. 120) was noted. Lovers of frontier melodrama might ask for some further account of Whiting's "celebrated Great Western" (p. 309); and more complete footnote identifications of some of the old Spanish fortifications along the Rio Grande which are mentioned might have added to the value of the editing. In general, however, the editorial work leaves little to be desired, and both editorial staff and publisher are to be congratulated upon this addition to an excellent series.

*Arizona State Teachers College.*

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

*A History of American Graphic Humor, 1865-1938.* By WILLIAM MURRELL. (New York: Published for the Whitney Museum of American Art by the Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 271. \$6.50.)

THIS pioneer work contains a collection of 242 pictures beautifully re-



produced. They present, for the most part, humorous or satiric comment on politics, social problems, and passing American fads and foibles. Some, abandoning realism, create comical and wholly fanciful worlds. The volume contains a few drawings of tremendous emotional power, as fine examples of the cartoonist's art as Western civilization has produced. The political cartoons, few in number after the first third of the book, contain many familiar items. Not many of the nonpolitical selections are widely known. One of the chief utilities of the book is to make easily available a large body of graphic material difficult for the historian to recover. This collection, when taken as a whole, comprises source material of considerable importance not only to the student who would trace the course of American humor but to the investigator of the shifting social scene after Appomattox.

Mr. Murrell's text is informative. In making available considerable biographical information concerning relatively obscure artists he has rendered a service of value. But his biographies are in no sense formal, and none of them are complete. The text also contains useful but little organized material about such magazines as *Puck* and *Life* (in its prephotographic incarnation). Nor are less well-known journals omitted. The author traces briefly the rise of the newspaper cartoon and the evolution of the now ubiquitous comic strip. He narrates the raid, at the end of the nineteenth century, of the newspaper publishers upon the staffs of the humorous magazines. He concludes his volume with an account of the appearance of the animated cartoon and the creation of the immortal Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck.

Scattered through the volume is brief but pertinent artistic criticism. Mr. Murrell is at his best in dealing with the rise and decline of the art of Thomas Nast and of Charles Dana Gibson. Of the latter the author suggests that decadence had set in when he created the famous Gibson Girl of the 1890's. Not the least of the services of the book is the elucidation of references in the pictures to little-known persons or events.

The work is practically without pattern save that provided by chronology. The pictures and text flow on, like a river, with no attempt at topical arrangement until the stream becomes a flood in the twentieth century. In this sense the book is an excellent reflection of the disorderly flux of life. It is not a great work. It propounds no theories either of humor or of art. But the student will find it useful, and the casual reader will discover it to be endlessly entertaining.

*Yale University.*

RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

*Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901, as revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams.* Edited by W. STULL HOLT, The Johns Hopkins University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. 314, xiv. \$2.50.)

THREE testimonials obtained by Adams from Heidelberg professors for

enclosure with his application for a fellowship at the Johns Hopkins University, a letter in his behalf from J. H. Seeley to President Gilman, 25 letters from Adams, and 156 letters to Adams make up this collection. The letters from Adams "constitute a fairly large proportion of those that have been found" (p. 9). Loyalty to the Johns Hopkins was severely tested by the failure of the trustees to meet the wishes of Adams and by overtures that came to him from other institutions. But, declining in 1891 an offer on the princely scale which W. R. Harper was establishing for the University of Chicago, Adams could write: "I have the best department of history and politics in the country. It is at once the largest and the strongest. It has a wide-spread colonial system and a very loyal body of graduate students" (p. 156). By "colonial system" Adams meant positions occupied in other institutions by men trained in his department.

About fifty of the letters to Adams are from former students, most of them located in the "colonies". They are letters which brought to Adams full accounts of the routine of teaching, requests for professional advice, and information about salaries, living conditions, intellectual and social advantages or disadvantages, and, in general, the reasons for feeling encouraged or discouraged about the cause which the "colonists", with a good deal of missionary zeal, were promoting. All this is of obvious value to anyone interested in the history of history teaching.

The other letters to Adams, apart from those that offer him positions, relate to such matters as arrangements for lectures, publishing enterprises, book reviews, and the American Historical Association. The editor was greatly surprised to find that Adams had not kept in touch with German scholars. "Among the thousands of letters preserved there are only a scant dozen from Germany." The contact with English scholars was much more intimate and leads the editor to suspect that "the orthodox account of the dominant influence of German scholarship in America during this period may need revision" (p. 11).

The correspondence as a whole is so professional as to invite from the writers no special comment on contemporary events. Only two of the letters offer specific evidence to the contrary. Edward Eggleston, writing to Adams in April, 1898, remarks: "Living right at the door of Congress in this tiresome time I don't seem to care much for American citizenship; it is a brand that covers a discouraging lot of clap-trap" (p. 253). John Spencer Bassett, writing to Adams in November, 1898, describes race riots in Wilmington, North Carolina (pp. 258-59). The professional interest which dominates the correspondence might have suggested some discussion of historical methodology. But the writers take the principles of the Adams seminar for granted, and the reader learns from the letters only that the seminar was a "laboratory"—a term of dubious applicability to historical study.

The editor's introduction is interesting and adequate. The reader, however, would like to know if it was the habit of Adams to answer all

letters, especially those from former students, and may wonder why no samples of replies to former students are included in the collection.

Columbia University.

HENRY JOHNSON.

*Mahan: The Life and Work of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, U. S. N.*

By CAPTAIN W. D. PULESTON, U. S. N. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 380. \$4.00.)

CAPTAIN PULESTON has performed a workmanlike task in picturing the life of the studious and modest naval officer who attained sudden fame at the age of fifty years through the publication of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, and whose books and essays thereafter became the bible of naval expansionists in all lands. For most purposes the book will supplant the biography by C. C. Taylor, published in 1920. The yield of new material from the Mahan family papers, which have been at the author's disposal, is less than had been hoped for by students of the period. Mahan was not an exuberant letter writer, as was his friend Theodore Roosevelt, and neither in his own letters nor in those received by him, so far as they are quoted in the biography, is there much new information on his personality, his ideas, or his relations with the public men of his time. Mahan's philosophy was very fully expressed in his books and articles, and only rarely does a remark in a letter cast new light upon his attitude.

Captain Puleston's biography weaves together rather skillfully the story of Mahan's life and an exposition of his ideas as they were exhibited in the publication, year by year, of his numerous books and articles. But while the exposition is adequate, there is too little critical appraisal either of Mahan's ideas per se or of their influence upon the course of events. A more critical biographer would have called attention to the occasional contradictions and even absurdities in Mahan's thought and would have recognized more fully that his philosophy, in its glorification of the struggle for world power and its emphasis upon force as the only reliable solvent of international rivalries, exerted a sinister influence. The nearest the author comes to such recognition is his admission, near the end of the book, that "some of . . . [Mahan's] convictions approached very closely to the doctrines of supermen and a superstate charged against prewar Germany".

It was to be hoped that a biography would reveal more than this does about the influences that affected Mahan's thinking. Did his conversion from anti-imperialism in 1885 to expansionism in 1890 result wholly, as he himself suggested, from his studies of the history of British sea power, or was it induced in part by the writings of other philosophical expansionists in those years? The author makes no attempt to relate Mahan's ideas to the "climate of opinion" in which they took shape.

While Mahan cannot justly be taxed with having started the race in naval armaments, since the inception of new naval programs in Great

Britain and the United States and the awakening of William II's interest in the German navy antedated the publication of his first book on sea power, it is clear from the facts assembled by Captain Puleston that in all three countries Mahan's writing proved invaluable to the proponents of larger navies. The "incendiary" nature of the Mahan doctrines seems to be not quite realized by Captain Puleston, though he quotes a rather apprehensive remark of one of Mahan's British admirers: "My only misgivings arise from the consciousness that all Europe have read, marked, learnt and are now inwardly digesting your doctrines." Why, indeed, should the British have thanked Mahan, as they did effusively, for revealing their secret not only to themselves but to a world full of ambitious rivals? In the United States Mahan's close association with Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge and their full acceptance of his ideas prove beyond doubt his efficacious influence upon national policy.

The book has only rare footnote references and a bibliography of Mahan's writings only.

*The University of Buffalo.*

JULIUS W. PRATT.

*The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice.* By GEORGE H. HAYNES. Two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. x, 567; 568-1118. \$8.50.)

For a century and more the Senate, besides being the most powerful second chamber in the world, has confounded the early prophets and, on the whole, overshadowed its partner at the Capitol. An extensive literature reflects popular interest in its proceedings. Much has been written about certain of its functions—treaty-making, impeachment trials, patronage, filibusters, investigations—but hitherto no general treatise has been undertaken. It is, therefore, with a sense of gratitude to Professor Haynes that one welcomes the appearance of this comprehensive and scholarly work.

Whoever reads two or three chapters and consults the footnotes will be impressed by the thorough workmanship. The citation of many documents points to years of patient research. The letters and memoirs of politicians, the transactions of Congress, Gilfry's *Precedents*, magazine articles—the exploration of such materials must have made the author's task, as he indicates in the preface, "forbidding in prospect and difficult in process"; for it is not simply the Senate of today that he pictures but the Senate developing through a century and a half. Even in two volumes Professor Haynes has not been able to give each topic exhaustive treatment. The "leads" are there, however. Numerous footnotes and bibliographies blaze the trail to more specialized information. One must add, by way of mild criticism, that books are often cited without mention of date or edition or number of volumes and that, in the case of magazine articles, there is a lack of uniformity, now the date and now the volume being given but never both.

The mere enumeration of chapter headings would make fairly clear how large an area has been covered. The first chapter deals with the planning of the Senate in 1787, the second, with the precedents set by the first Congress. Thereafter Professor Haynes considers in turn eighteen topics, such as the election of senators, offices and organization, committees, rules, debate, finance, leadership and lobby, investigations, treaty-making, appointments and removals, impeachment trials, privileges, and prestige. One topic has been treated with disappointing brevity. Party organization in the Senate is not described with the fullness that it seems to deserve, nor—one must add—does the index refer to “floor leader”, “steering committee”, or even “party”. Generally, however, the richness of detail is remarkable. If one wishes to appraise the arguments of President Roosevelt and Senator Glass in their controversy over appointments or to discover the circumstances under which nominations to the Supreme Court and the Cabinet have been rejected, Professor Haynes furnishes the appropriate data. When did the “press gallery” originate? How much does the franking privilege cost the government? What is the average age of senators? How many of them are lawyers? What is that practice of pairing about which the rules are silent? The answer that one gets is often illuminated by historical comments or by allusion to other legislative bodies. Yet detail is not permitted to obscure the development of a theme or impair the perspective.

Professor Haynes admits that “in the years since the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment the prestige of the Senate has suffered serious decline” and that the prevailing lack of esteem (President Coolidge’s phrase) is “as unfortunate as it is indisputable”. What are the causes of this lack of esteem? According to the author’s diagnosis, they are, mainly but not entirely, connected with primaries and elections. Perhaps it would have been better to say that these are causes of the decline in the quality of personnel, which, in its turn, explains the loss of prestige. Unfortunately Professor Haynes makes no attempt to show from the daily proceedings to what depths the level of debate often descends.

*Pomona College.*

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT.

*The American Defense of Neutral Rights, 1914-1917.* By ALICE M. MORRISSEY, Assistant Professor of History, Elmira College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 230. \$2.50.)

THIS book presents an account of the betrayal of American neutrality by the Executive in 1914-1917. In the light of the works of Grattan, Millis, Tansill, and others the author’s thesis is not new; yet, although much of the material is fairly well known, the author has made a distinct contribution by avoiding quotations from documents, presenting her story in narrative form, and employing her limited space for penetrating interpretative comment.

With commendable detachment she traces the very different attitudes of

the Wilson administration toward Great Britain and toward Germany through the various controversies that arose. She shows how the pro-Ally bias and interventionist propensities of Lansing, House, and Page distorted neutrality and influenced Wilson to assume jaundiced and indefensible positions, meekly or disingenuously surrendering legal rights to the Allies yet making unprecedented demands on Germany for the protection of British ships, until the administration had worked itself into a dilemma from which there was no escape but war. While war was welcomed by Wilson's advisers, Wilson himself was surprised and grieved; unlike Bryan he had not realized how unneutral he was and what the natural consequence would be. In the diplomatic exchanges the interests of the United States were submerged in the alleged devotion to "higher" considerations; it was then that the era of rationalization and phrasemaking began its long career as a soporific on American thinking.

The surrenders on contraband, unlawful detentions, compulsory calling at British ports, the search of mails, the arming of merchant ships, the blacklists, the prohibitions to trade, placed the "commerce of the United States . . . under the direction of Great Britain" (p. 25). But American goods and goods captured from American ships were resold by Great Britain to the neutrals contiguous to Germany, a trade practically prohibited by orders in council to American citizens (pp. 37, 90). The desire of many Americans, including some officials in the Department of State, to maintain some semblance of American dignity and legal rights persuaded Lansing to dispatch protests to Great Britain which made something of a paper record, but deliberately little was done to secure compliance with our legitimate demands. After the administration had secretly, on February 22, 1916, committed itself to the Allied cause, it practically lost all power, even had there been the desire, to insure respect for American rights. By contrast, the stiff and unyielding attitude of the United States toward Germany and the refusal to admit any connection between the reciprocal reprisals of the belligerents, although this country was serving as a base of supplies for the Allies, made the unneutrality striking. Miss Morrissey is effective in marshaling the economic influences which bore on American official positions, especially adducing the views of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Journal of Commerce*, which come off very badly, and of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, which comes off rather well. The shifting loan policies in their relation to the politics of the administration are acutely analyzed. Bryan is praised for his insight. Even though he may not have read as many books on international law as Lansing, Bryan's legal conceptions were clearer and his judgment sounder. He also had integrity, which is fundamental to neutrality.

The "rights of humanity" invoked on behalf of persons who risked their lives on British ships made a strong emotional appeal for embroilment. But the "property" claims, whose vindication, it was argued, could be postponed

until after the war, still remain unpaid. The author states that by entering the war the United States further impaired the legitimate claims of neutrals and contaminated its elementary traditions (p. 199). She might have added that under the agreement of May 19, 1927, with Great Britain, by which Britain left one and one-half million dollars in the United States for distribution to injured American claimants, minor officials of the Department of State, without reproof from their superiors, are undertaking, not to write opinions in support of historic American and legal positions but, on the contrary, to defend British war measures against which the United States protested at least in 1915 and 1916 and are thus completing the American debacle. Miss Morrissey's conclusion is amply sustained by the evidence: "American policy toward the Allies was, therefore, harmful to the United States in many ways. It failed to earn respect from either of the belligerents; it procured no concessions from the Allies; it embittered the Germans; and it will hamper the United States in the future" (p. 204). The 1914-1917 record exemplifies the truth of President Roosevelt's remarks at Chautauqua on August 14, 1936: "The effective maintenance of American neutrality depends today, as in the past, on the wisdom and determination of whoever at the moment occupy the offices of President and Secretary of State."

*Yale University School of Law.*

EDWIN BORCHARD.

*My Memoir.* By EDITH BOLLING WILSON. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1939. Pp. 386. \$3.50.)

It is a pity that the ghost writer who assisted Mrs. Wilson in the preparation of this volume was apparently more concerned with sales than with producing a book of permanent historical value. Properly coached, it is more than likely that she could have cast important light upon many questions that still remain obscure. It is true that *My Memoir* does contain some intimate pictures of the men in public life during the eventful years from 1916 to 1921, but they reveal little that is new. It has long been known that certain objections were raised against the President's marriage to Mrs. Galt. The details of the intrigue to postpone the wedding are now presented in authentic detail, and they do not reflect credit upon either Colonel House or Secretary McAdoo.

Perhaps it was the knowledge of this intrigue that soured the sunny nature of the second Mrs. Wilson. At any rate, her narrative is at times filled with spleen. Her account of the activities of Colonel House is far from flattering. In the private ear of Mrs. Wilson the omniscient colonel recited a long litany of objections against certain railway legislation advocated by the President. When confronted by the President he immediately abandoned his opposition and rallied to the support of proposals he had just condemned. At Paris Colonel House pretended to be in sympathy with the liberal views of President Wilson, but he was perfectly willing, when given an oppor-



tunity, to accept compromises that he knew were directly counter to the President's wishes. And not content with the betrayal of the program he had been pledged to support, the faithless colonel inspired certain newspaper attacks upon the stand taken by the President.

It was not long before Mrs. Wilson discovered that Secretary Lansing was a "small man" who permitted his personal vanity to obscure his vision of international realities. Balfour and Clemenceau were not averse to the practice of diplomatic arts that President Wilson regarded with contempt, and even Queen Marie of Rumania endeavored to win extra concessions for her country by exerting the full force of her charming personality upon our supposedly pliant President.

In her catalogue of discomforts in France and England Mrs. Wilson sharply inveighs against the railway service, which was "terrible", and she still shudders when she thinks of the arctic atmosphere in the rooms of Buckingham Palace. She suffered from a pitiless barrage of words from Margot Asquith and was glad that Lady Sandhurst redressed this lack of balance by being "unaffected and sweet". The royal family in England was safely conventional.

Mr. Tumulty does not appear in a favorable light. Mrs. Wilson tells how Woodrow Wilson rebuked Tumulty for his eager support of a plan to bring before the voters in the presidential election of 1920 some evidence that Warren Harding had Negro blood in his veins. In 1922 Mr. Tumulty's anxiety to secure Woodrow Wilson's endorsement of James M. Cox as a presidential candidate led him to adopt a course that was suspiciously oblique.

The best chapters in *My Memoir* are those which deal with the President's long trip in the autumn of 1919 in his endeavor to secure popular support of his program for American participation in a League of Nations. The breakdown at Wichita, Kansas, and the physical collapse that descended upon the President after his return to the White House are described with a poignancy of feeling that enlists the reader's instant sympathy. There is a deeply affecting quality of tenderness that runs throughout the last chapters of *My Memoir* which helps to neutralize the acid accents of the earlier portions of the volume. Whatever one may think of her sharp criticisms of the personalities of the World War period, it will be obvious to every American that Mrs. Wilson has told in her own frank way one of the great love stories of history.

Fordham University.

CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL.

*A Puritan in Babylon: The Story of Calvin Coolidge.* By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 460. \$3.50.)

THE lives of his contemporaries, as written by William Allen White, are valuable autobiographical works. They bring him release, and by release

he interprets himself. Their subjects are convenient pegs upon which to hang chapters of observation, experience, and comment, as the author draws upon one of the richest journalistic recollections of our day. They are hardly history, for their conclusions are rarely the consequence of deliberate investigation. They are hardly biography, for the hero is not allowed by the author to tell his own story. Mr. White has a habit of substituting his own mind for the mind of his hero in absence of evidence as to the latter. There can be little permanent biographical value in a work in which it is not suggested that Coolidge left an archive or in one in which so often as here there are sentences bolstered with locutions such as "Coolidge must have felt". When the author declares that the Vice President, "quick of eye and delicate of nostril . . . certainly sensed these iniquities [of the Harding administration] as soon as the insiders", he is perhaps paying a tribute to his own nose for news, but he fails, through evidence, to establish in Coolidge the quickness with which he invests him.

This is the second time that Coolidge has provided a peg for Mr. White. On the first occasion—1925—the author had not yet completed the pattern in his own mind; he lacked the hindsight engendered by a panic. He has now made up his mind for the moment: in the twenties the United States was revealing the way in which democracy must work—democracy is the only form of government fit to have—the institutions of democracy are and were so defective as to have made a scandal out of the period. There are inconsistencies in this analysis, blandly ignored. Coolidge is shown as absolutely honest yet the knowing tool of crooks, intelligent to the point of penetration yet blind to the obvious, a "Cinderella" who repeatedly went to the ball in rags "and quit each phase dancing with the prince". There is more flavor than content in the phrases which adorn the book. Coolidge as a "tomcat sphinx" is worth a prize whether the metaphor is sound or frivolous; "stewing serenely in his own obscurity" is more pointed than precise for a politician whose simple notion was that his business was to do his job. Too often the variety of Yankee dialect to which Coolidge was born is treated as though its enunciation affected the ideas expressed in it; "cackling" and "quack" are so frequently used to suggest the sound of his speech that one suspects a deliberate attempt to belittle by use of the irrelevant. And yet, on his last page, Mr. White writes of these utterances as "polished like New England granite" and reflecting "the American heart" and has Coolidge leading his people "not as a weakling, not as a demagogue, but cherishing the noblest purpose he knew, following the democratic vision of his age".

Whatever its defects as either history or biography, this work has real values which appear when Mr. White draws on his personal store of Washington experiences to point up the Coolidge decade. His journalistic friends have lent him data to refresh his memory. His political friends have written

and told him things, sometimes off the record. And he has made use of an assistant to work through the Taft papers in the Library of Congress, extracting thence samples of comment which reveal how pungent a biography of Taft may someday be written.

*University of California.*

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*The Reciprocal Trade Policy of the United States: A Study in Trade Philosophy.* By HENRY J. TASCA. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. Pp. xiv, 371. \$3.50.)

DR. TASCA in this book gives a compact but adequate account of the historical background, the legislative history, and the administrative record of the Reciprocal Trade Act of 1934, by which the Roosevelt administration, under the able and energetic leadership of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, has been endeavoring not only to reverse the historical trend of the United States toward ever more intense protectionism but also to check the recent trend of the world at large toward even more effective barriers to foreign trade than ordinary tariffs: exchange controls, barter agreements, import quotas, etc. Dr. Tasca also handles acceptably, though somewhat prosaically, the case against governmental trade barriers and governmental regimentation of foreign trade. His analysis of the American agreements concluded by the time the book was written and the documentation, statistical tables, and bibliography which he provides are all competently executed and highly serviceable. Students of commercial policy have found the book exceedingly useful.

Tasca obviously regards as a high achievement in statesmanship the trade agreements program as framed, launched, and administered by Secretary Hull and his aides, and he deals with its most questioned aspect, its emphasis upon adherence to the unconditional most-favored-nation principle, as its most valuable feature. I share this view to the full, and I regret only that the author has not brought out as sharply as was possible the extent of the courage and the tenacity which Secretary Hull and his aides have been called upon to display in order to keep the program alive and moving in the face of the opposition to it within the administration, on the Hill, from special interests, industrial and agrarian, and from the prominent amateur economists who have been endeavoring with some success to convert the American people to belief in the virtues of autarchy. But Tasca fails, I believe, to deal sufficiently critically with one important phase of Secretary Hull's bargaining technique. It is open to question whether the policy of promiscuous extension of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment in form, accompanied by substantial departures from it in substance through the use of tariff specialization and other tricky devices, has been as effective either in keeping the unconditional most-favored-nation principle alive or in facilitating successful bargaining for the removal of trade barriers

as would have been the alternative policy: unqualified execution of unconditional most-favored-nation obligations but restriction of most-favored-nation pledges to countries whose treatment of American trade, either prior to or as the result of trade negotiations, meets reasonable criteria.

*The University of Chicago.*

JACOB VINER.

*Ground under our Feet: An Autobiography.* By RICHARD T. ELY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xi, 330. \$3.00.)

THE author of these memoirs is the oldest surviving member of that little group of young pioneers who began the systematic study and teaching of economics in America in the eighties of the last century. More than any other (more even than Taussig at Harvard or Seligman at Columbia), Dr. Ely has interested himself in a wide range of problems, has touched the greatest variety if not the greatest number of economic situations and men of political prominence, and has exerted a continental influence on popular thought and policy in economic matters. This autobiography therefore is more than a personal narrative—though it is essentially that; it is a discursive historical document, a significant record of the contacts, personal observation, and ripened convictions of a man of broad philosophic and economic training, of tireless energy, and of quiet enthusiasm, during the sixty momentous years in America since 1880, when he returned from his European studies. This octogenarian looks back over his career with a certain toleration, modesty, and confession of youthful error but nevertheless with undimmed pride and satisfaction. He has few misgivings as to the present economic and political trends that are in considerable measure, no doubt, the result of his advocacy of increased governmental activity. Even he feels at times, however, that the “ground under our feet” is perhaps quaking a bit.

To economic students the most interesting passages will be those describing his studies in Germany with Conrad, Knies, and others and later the formation of the American Economic Association, in which Dr. Ely was the moving spirit. Historical students will find value in the thumbnail sketches or snapshots, candid, frank, and appreciating, of notable public men and educators whom Dr. Ely met or who were his teachers, his colleagues, or his students: Woodrow Wilson, Daniel Gilman, A. D. White, Coolidge, Theodore Roosevelt, La Follette, Senator Vilas, and others. Dr. Ely's views on economics have a peculiar significance to historians because of his leadership in the advocacy of the historical method and of the historical spirit in economic studies in America. His mature comments upon educational policies, excessive specialization, forced retirement, mass education, and methods of teaching are worthy of a thoughtful hearing by all concerned with education.

Dr. Ely is still preaching the much needed evangel that the primary con-

cern of economists should be human life and human welfare rather than counting-room profits. He has given us here a noteworthy record of a rich and useful career, a life of thought and of action devoted to the public good.

*Princeton University.*

FRANK ALBERT FETTER.

*The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest: A History of the Lumber Trade between Canada and the United States.* By A. R. M. LOWER. With Studies of the *Forest Industries of British Columbia*, by W. A. CARROTHERS, and of the *Forest Industries in the Maritime Provinces*, by S. A. SAUNDERS. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xxvii, 377. \$3.75.)

THIS is a scholarly and interesting history of the long, varied, and economically important trade in lumber and associated forest products between Canada and the United States. It is particularly significant in these times and is of special current interest because the United States, which for many years has been the leader in lumber production among all the nations and for a considerable time was the most important lumber exporting nation in the world, has given way to Canada as the leading lumber exporting nation.

The author of the main portion of the book, including 223 pages, has made a distinct contribution to the knowledge of this forest resource and utilization development in North America. Two other authors have contributed: W. A. Carrothers with 108 pages on the forest industries of British Columbia and S. A. Saunders with 33 pages on the forest industries of the Maritime Provinces. These three parts are the first and only comprehensive treatise on the history and development of the lumber trade, together with the associated pulp and paper and other forest industries.

A good deal of American capital has been invested in Canadian industries, and the markets for the products of a considerable share of many of these industries have been in the United States as well as abroad. This economic interrelationship between the two countries has been of no little value in bringing the two nations together on a common ground of friendship and understanding.

It is apparent that a great amount of time, energy, and effort has been devoted to delving accurately into various sources of information in order to produce an account that is historically accurate as well as readable and interesting. The tables convey a great deal of interesting information and will no doubt be valuable for reference purposes in the future. The authors are to be congratulated upon this complete and accurate work, which should prove to be of great value as a reliable source of information to many thousands of persons engaged or interested in these important forest industries. The bibliographies alone indicate the range and depth of the authors' re-

search. One of the most interesting tables is that showing the increasing importance of shingle products in the Pacific Northwest. The map facing page 184 is of special interest, as it illustrates the movement of lumber from the Georgian Bay and Ottawa River sections into the Buffalo, Tonawanda, and other markets of this country. Other graphs show very clearly and interestingly the many significant developments in the lumber and pulp industries both in connection with their development in Canada and their relationship to this country. This volume is to be heartily commended for its scholarly approach to the most important industry in eastern Canada and one that is vital in the Pacific Northwest. It should contribute materially to a happy and more complete understanding between the Canadian and American peoples.

*New York State College of Forestry.*

NELSON C. BROWN.

*Canada and the Law of Nations: A Selection of Cases in International Law, affecting Canada or Canadians, decided by Canadian Courts, by Certain of the Higher Courts in the United States and Great Britain, and by International Tribunals.* Edited by NORMAN MACKENZIE and LIONEL H. LAING. Foreword by The Right Honorable Sir Robert Borden. Introduction by James Brown Scott. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xxvii, 567. \$4.00.)

SIR Robert Borden, in his foreword to this volume, remarks that Canada began to emerge from the wardship of the Colonial Office more than a hundred years ago and that her advance toward "true nationhood", although at first rather slowly and painfully made, continued until she "at last gained her present recognized position in the Society of Nations". To this consummation he might have added that the United States by various acts materially contributed. In saying this I particularly have in mind disputes concerning fisheries and boundaries; the termination, on notice by the United States, of the Marcy-Elgin reciprocity treaty of 1854; and the coincidental threats of reprisals on account of certain border incidents during our Civil War. There can be no doubt that these things gave an impulse to the formation of the federation known as the Dominion of Canada, through which Canada's present condition of nationhood has been achieved. It was, I think, Joseph Chamberlain's visit to Canada at the end of 1887, while he was engaged in negotiating at Washington, in association with a Canadian statesman popularly known as the Conservative war-horse of Nova Scotia, Sir Charles Tupper, a treaty relating to the fisheries, that opened his eyes to the importance and the power of the overseas dominions and made him a convinced and ardent imperialist. I say this as one who was, as a participant in the negotiations, in constant touch with him at the time.

Having carefully examined the volume under review, I desire to say

that it bears the marks of minute and comprehensive study combined with a correct appreciation of legal principles and that it constitutes an appreciable contribution to the literature of international law. As the editors point out in their preface, there came before the courts in Canada, long before she acquired her present political status, cases requiring the application of principles of what was earlier known as the law of nations, or the law of nature and of nations; but, because the cases were widely scattered and were often recorded in volumes of narrow circulation, they were practically unknown either to practitioners or to legal historians.

At the outset the editors give two judicial deliverances relating to what they call the position of the Dominion of Canada as "an international entity"; but it will be found on examination that much of what was judicially said on that subject was rhetorically rather than legally pertinent to the question actually determined. The Dominion parliament having incorporated in appropriate statutes the provisions of certain conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations in relation to minimum wages, hours of work, and a weekly rest, the validity of the legislation was judicially attacked by the provinces on the ground that it infringed their reserved power under the British North America Act to deal with rights of property and civil rights. On this question the supreme court of Canada divided equally; but the chief justice delivered an opinion in which the status of Canada as a national and international entity was elaborately asserted. In this predicament the question was carried before the judicial committee of the privy council in England, which, without questioning the competence of Canada to legislate in performance of treaty obligations, recognized the distribution of powers between the Dominion and the provinces. "While the ship of State", said the judgment of the privy council, "now sails on larger ventures and into foreign waters, she still retains the watertight compartments which are an essential part of her original structure." Hence, in the exercise of the totality of legislative powers, Dominion and provincial together, there must, said the judgment, be co-operation but not usurpation; and their lordships accordingly held that all the acts in question were outside the powers of the parliament of Canada, because each of them infringed rights constitutionally reserved to the provinces.

The volume under review embraces decisions relating to jurisdiction over territory, including bays and territorial waters; to citizenship, naturalization, domicile, and the rights and disabilities of aliens; to extradition; to treaties, their making and interpretation; and to private international law, otherwise known as the conflict of laws. Finally, there are more than a hundred pages devoted to war and its effects, including the disabilities and capacities of resident alien enemies, the treatment of enemy property, trading with the enemy, the effect of war on treaties, and neutral rights and



duties. As upwards of ninety, or more than a half, of the cases given in the volume antedate both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, the editors evidently do not accept the rhetorical claim that pre-existing international law has been superseded or rendered obsolete by those two instruments and that there are henceforth to be no more neutrals.

New York City.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

*History of Prairie Settlement.* By ARTHUR S. MORTON, University of Saskatchewan. "*Dominion Lands*" Policy. By CHESTER MARTIN, University of Toronto. [Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 571. \$9.00.)

THIS volume is notable in a dual sense: it is in itself convincing evidence of the growing interest in aspects of Canadian history other than the political and constitutional, and it is one of the most significant contributions yet made to the story of the development of the Canadian prairie.

In his part of the book Professor Morton has produced the Canadian counterpart of Walter P. Webb's *The Great Plains*. Just as Webb has portrayed the painful process of adjustment which the treeless and semiarid high plains required of a people accustomed to a wooded, humid environment, so Mr. Morton has set forth in detail the adaptations which were necessary for the successful settlement of the prairie regions of Western Canada. While he traces briefly the history of the area through the era of the fur trade and the period of transition which came to an end in 1870, the author naturally concentrates his attention mainly on the years following that date.

Briefly stated, Mr. Morton's thesis is that until near the close of the century the strenuous efforts to promote the settlement of the prairie country failed to produce commensurate results because the short growing season, the uncertain rainfall, and the high transportation costs all combined to render farming so precarious. For successful settlement certain fundamental adjustments were imperative. Early maturing varieties of wheat had to be developed, the technique of dry farming had to be perfected, and a favorable ratio had to be established between the cost of transporting prairie products and the price which the farmer received for his wheat. By the late nineties rapid progress with respect to these adjustments, combined with the general world recovery from the depression of the previous decade, ushered in an era of rapid settlement on the prairie which continued without interruption to 1914. Within the framework of this interpretation the author traces in detail the stream of settlement until it expanded into a flood tide shortly after the turn of the century. Especially important is the careful manner in which he has located and identified foreign colonies which served as nuclei of the larger ethnic communities which have been so sig-

nificant in the development of the social structure of the prairie provinces.

Professor Martin's portion of the volume is a discussion of the land system under which the settlement process took place. Thanks to him, we now have for the first time an adequate and rounded treatment of the land policy of the Dominion government. Unlike his colleague, who largely ignores American experience in prairie and plains settlement, Professor Martin writes with an eye to those developments in the neighboring republic which are relevant to the Canadian story. But, while emphasizing the great importance of American influence on Canadian policy, the author makes it clear that the land system of the Dominion was no mere replica of that in the United States. Having the advantage of hindsight with respect to American practice, the Canadians were able to avoid some of the mistakes of their Yankee cousins.

Although the homestead is the most conspicuous feature of Canadian, as of American, land policy, Mr. Martin regards it as a mistaken policy. In a land where dry farming, with summer following, was necessary, the 160-acre homestead was too small for a successful farm. Happily, much of the grief and disaster which would have attended the rigid adherence to the homestead unit was obviated by the existence of millions of acres of railway lands which were interspersed among the sections open to homestead entry. By purchase of a quarter section of railway land the homesteader was able to obtain the half-section farm required for the successful application of dry-farming methods. This fact, alone, would in large measure justify the policy of land subsidies in aid of railways.

It is to be regretted that Professor Martin has marred an otherwise admirable study by a faulty scheme of organization which results in extensive repetition. Although in the main he has done his work with great thoroughness, there appears on page 363 a statement with respect to Texas lands which is inaccurate and misleading.

Both studies contain maps which are helpful, while Professor Martin's has statistical tables which are important contributions in themselves. This volume will be acclaimed by all students of the history of the Canadian West.

*Brown University.*

JAMES B. HEDGES.

*The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, from contemporary Documents and Narratives.* Translated with Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM BROOKS GREENLEE. (London: Bernard Quaritch, printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1938. Pp. lxix, 228. £1 5s.)

IN view of the attention hitherto given by the Hakluyt Society to Portuguese voyages of discovery, a volume devoted exclusively to the Cabral expedition has been long overdue. Mr. Greenlee's work adequately repairs the omission. In addition to translations of the well-known official documents, the letters of Caminha and Master John, and the anonymous Portuguese nar-

rative the compilation includes the obscurer writings of the Venetian diarists and sundry letters sent home by Italians resident in Portugal as well as a retranslation of the Cape Verde letter of Amerigo Vespucci, until recently believed apocryphal. There are no excerpts from the earliest historians (Barros, Castanheda, Corrêa, etc.) since their accounts were not contemporary.

The translator provides the historical background and an evaluation of the sources in a sixty-page introduction. Students in the past have been generally concerned with Cabral's Brazilian landfall because of the long controversy regarding priority of discovery and the objectives of the expedition. Mr. Greenlee, while dealing with this phase, calls attention to the neglected African and Asiatic results of the voyage. Madagascar was discovered, though the fact is almost forgotten today, and the way was prepared for European dominance in the Indian Ocean.

Although the attention paid to these important points is merited, most readers will be chiefly interested in the fresh analysis that is presented of the Brazilian discovery. Mr. Greenlee concludes that Cabral arrived at Porto Seguro by accident. He rejects the older theories of storm and loss of direction, holding rather that the fleet adopted a more westerly course than Gama's for the simple purpose of reaching the Cape of Good Hope with the least expenditure of time and effort. He regards Cabral as probably the first European to visit Brazil, rejecting Spanish arguments in favor of Ojeda, Pinzon, and Lepe, as well as Portuguese claims in behalf of Duarte Pacheco Pereira. Magnaghi's more recent contention for Vespucci, in company with Ojeda, is not mentioned.

Such controversies, intensified by sparse evidence, seem destined never to be settled definitively. Mr. Greenlee's contribution, though important, will probably not end this one and especially will not be pleasing to Portuguese historians noted for their devotion to national glory. But while opinions may differ regarding the major conclusion, few will question the value of this work and the need for it.

A useful feature is the pocket containing a reproduction of the Henricus Martellus World Map, the South Atlantic portion of the Cantino, and a modern tracing of Cabral's route to India and return.

*Fresno State College.*

CHARLES E. NOWELL.

*Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581.* By ARTHUR FRANKLIN ZIMMERMAN, Colorado State College of Education. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1938. Pp. 307. \$4.00.)

THE Spanish colonial administration in Peru and in the broader sense in South America may be said to have been the work of Francisco de Toledo. An essay on his busy and long career is a high adventure in imaginative scholarship and calls for an insight into every phase of organized human endeavor. There was nothing in the life of Peru that escaped his energetic

meddling. He modeled the forms of government, set rules for Indian labor, quarreled with the church and attempted to discipline it, made laws for mining, regulated taxes, fixed the rules of trade, and reformed prisons. His activities, wanderings, inquiries, and innumerable laws bespeak a spirit that knew no rest and that left nothing untouched. Peru, when he finally left it to return to Spain, was cast in a new mold, which hardened and persisted in its main outline to the end of Spanish rule in America. In fact, one could in many a detail discover evidence of his administrative rules in the Peru of the nineteenth century.

The volume under review is an attempt to delineate and in a lesser degree to evaluate the work of Toledo. It has been faithfully done and certainly represents a great amount of painstaking effort on the part of the author. As a contribution to the history of the period, however, it will be valued for its details rather than for its synthesis, for its facts rather than for its insight or interpretation. The difficulty is in the method as well as in the project. It is by every measure too ambitious a task for a doctor's dissertation, for which it was originally prepared. It would have been better to take any one of Toledo's activities and work it out against the problem which it aimed to solve. As it is, a great deal of space is given to the solutions of problems—detailed, tiresome, and repetitious summations of laws in all their minutiae—with the problems against which the laws were written largely left hanging in the air. This result is in part an outcome of the method. The author chose to follow Toledo's life chronologically from beginning to end, treating little unimportant things as seriously as important ones. It would have been better to take the various legislative and administrative activities of Toledo and treat them in chronological order in separate chapters. As it is, the impression given is one of confusion and repetition. The author's apparent desire to "whitewash" Toledo for the judicial murder of Tupac Amaru is regrettable. Foreign scholars are under no obligation to flatter the achievements of the Spanish colonial system. The contemporary Spanish historians are doing that very well—indeed too well.

*Columbia University.*

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

*Historia de la nación argentina desde los orígenes hasta la organización definitiva en 1862.* Por RICARDO LEVENE, director general. [Junta de historia y numismática americana.] Volume III, *Colonización y organización de Hispano América; Adelantados y gobernadores del Río de la Plata.* Por RAFAEL ALTAMIRA *et al.* Volume IV, *El momento histórico del Virreinato del Río de la Plata.* Primera sección por EMILIO RAVIGNANI *et al.* Segunda sección por JUAN CANTER *et al.* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad. 1937; 1938. Pp. viii, 663; xiv, 749, 552.)

THE third and the fourth volumes of this co-operative work reach the same high standard of excellence attained in the first two volumes. Volume

III is composed of two parts: the first is concerned with the colonization and the political organization of southern South America, while the second describes the role played by Spanish *adelantados* and governors in that part of the Spanish Indies. Several well-known Latin-American historians have made scholarly contributions to this volume. Among the best-known of these writers to North American students of Latin-American history are perhaps the following: Ricardo Levene, Enrique de Gandía, Roberto Levillier, and José Torre Rebello. In the opening chapter of this volume the eminent Spanish historian, Rafael Altamira, furnishes a comprehensive survey of Spanish civilization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, giving considerable attention to the economic decadence of Spain and to the changes introduced into the administration of the state under the Bourbons. The interesting process of transplanting Castilian institutions to the New World is also treated in some detail. In another scholarly chapter the legislation concerning the Spanish colonies in America is competently handled by Levene, who is an authority on the Laws of the Indies. The Brazilian historian, Pedro Calmón, sketches the significant background of many Spanish activities in the New World by an account of the history of Brazil which extends to 1808.

In the second part of this volume Gandía describes in detail the founding of the city of Buenos Aires and also discusses the activities of pirates on the coast of southern South America. Levillier aptly sketches the conquest and administrative organization of the extensive region known in colonial days as Tucumán. A chapter by Rebello is devoted to biographical sketches of more than thirty governors who exercised authority in the provinces of the Río de La Plata. The founding of the cities of Sacramento and Montevideo in the debatable land between La Plata and Brazil is narrated in ample detail. Furlong Cardiff gives a sympathetic and illuminating account of the establishment and management by the Jesuits of missions among the Guarani Indians.

The fourth volume of this monumental history is composed of two sections, each of which is in reality a book in itself. Among the outstanding contributors to this volume are the following: Emilio Ravignani, Juan Canter, Juan P. Echagüe, Juan Beverina, and Rómulo Zabala. This portion of the *Historia de la nación argentina* contains a comprehensive survey of conditions in the viceroyalty of La Plata on the eve of the great revolution which separated that viceroyalty from Spain. Commerce, industry, social classes, manners and customs, religious festivals, iconography, numismatics, folklore, and linguistics are here considered. The second book of this volume is devoted to such cultural topics as the printing press, colonial periodicals, literature and art, elementary and higher education, military annals, and religious history. Special attention is paid to instruction in philosophy, medicine, and law. The English invasions are described at length.

Indeed the *History of the Argentine Nation* is rather a series of monographic essays than a synthetic history. The volumes under review make important and substantial contributions to numerous phases of South American history during the momentous decades which preceded the separation of the Indies from Spain. These volumes are illustrated by special maps and also by facsimiles of coins, medals, broadsides, newspapers, periodicals, plans, and unpublished documents. Alluring vistas are thus opened for later investigators. May other nations in Latin America soon follow the splendid example which has been set by the most progressive of our southern neighbors.

*University of Illinois.*

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

## NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*The Manila Galleon.* By WILLIAM LYTLE SCHURZ. (New York, Dutton, 1939, pp. 453, \$6.00.) The endeavor of Spain to make the Pacific Ocean a Spanish lake was centered in the control of trade between the Orient and America. For two and one half centuries this trade was carried on in the Manila galleons. Mutiny, capture, or loss at sea without a trace was the fate of many of them. The remainder accomplished their voyages amidst the difficulties afforded by nature and mankind. Dr. Schurz traces the history of this Spanish epic of the Pacific. The account is based on sources in the General Archive of the Indies and on accounts by travelers and participants. Many quotations are incorporated in the text but without specific citations. The volume is divided into four parts. The first considers the kinds of goods and their accumulation in Manila and the relations of the Spaniards to the Asiatic nations. The second describes the galleons and their equipment, the methods of trade, the system of permits, the organization for the voyage, and the routes. The third explains Spain's desire for and interest in maintaining the Pacific monopoly and gives an account of the English and Dutch attacks. The last is a brief description of the market for the goods from Manila and the attitude of the merchants in the mother country toward the Pacific trade. The extended bibliography indicates the *legajos* in the Archive of the Indies and gives a selected list of published works. A map to illustrate the routes would have been a valuable addition. The volume is not, as the publishers state, "with the exception of Barrows' short text book", "the only historic work on the Spanish period in the Philippines to be written during the American occupation". Nevertheless, Dr. Schurz is to be congratulated on presenting such an interesting and important contribution. ROSCOE R. HILL.

*Some Makers of English Law: The Tagore Lectures, 1937-38.* By Sir WILLIAM HOLDSWORTH. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 308, \$3.75.) This volume contains the lectures delivered by the distinguished historian of English law as Tagore Professor in the University of Calcutta in December, 1937, and January, 1938. They are based, as one would expect, upon the author's previous writings and should be useful as an introduction to the study of English legal history.

*Anciens plans de Genève, xve-xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles.* By ÉTIENNE CLOUZOT. [Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève.] (Geneva, A. Jullien; Georg & Co., 1938, pp. 150.)

*The Modern World.* By ALICE FELT TYLER, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. [The Civilization of the Western World.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939, pp. x, 930, \$3.75.)

Ἡ Πελοπόννησος κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν Τουρκοκρατίαν, 1715-1821. [Peloponnesus under the second Turkish rule, 1715-1821.] By MICHAEL B. SAKELLARIOS. (Athens, "Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher", 1939, pp. 304, 25 cm.) This work represents an important contribution to the historiography of modern Greece both because of the subject selected and the mode of treatment. The fact



that the modern period has been selected by Mr. Sakellarios as his special field for study is worthy of note since most of the Greek historians have tended to concentrate their attention on the most brilliant periods of Greek history—antiquity and Byzantium. Thus modern Greek history has been left largely in the hands of untrained enthusiasts, who have in many cases collected valuable data but have usually been unable to make proper use of it. The treatment of the subject is also significant, for the author has not satisfied himself with a mere chronicling of the most important events, as is so often the case in Greece with regional histories. Instead he has furnished, in Part I of the book, a detailed and original analysis of such phases of Turkish rule as the landholding system, the mode of taxation, and the nature of the administration. Part II contains a historical survey of Peloponnesus under the Ottomans and is noteworthy insofar as it supplements and on minor points corrects the work of Mr. Kontoyiannis and other historians. Use has not been made of the consular reports available in the Western European capitals, but this deficiency is partly compensated for by the unusually large number of published accounts of contemporary consuls and travelers. It is unlikely, therefore, that the account of Mr. Sakellarios would have been much different if the archive material had been consulted. In conclusion one cannot help expressing the hope that similar studies will be made of Macedonia, Crete, Epirus, and other regions. Only then will it be possible to write the history of Greece under Turkish rule.

L. S. STAVRIANOS.

*The Church and the Nineteenth Century.* By RAYMOND CORRIGAN. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xviii, 326, \$3.50.) According to Father Joseph Husslein, the general editor of the series in which this volume appears, the author's task in treating so vast a subject was greatly simplified by the fact that Italy, France, Germany, and the British Isles constitute the principal scene of the drama of the church during the nineteenth century, and Father Corrigan focuses the greater part of his attention on these countries. The successive phases of papal policy, the numerous doctrinal controversies, the manifold activities of the Catholic hierarchy, and the frequent skirmishes between the defenders and the critics of the church are brought within the purview of this panoramic survey. The inclusion of so many topics leaves little room for detailed discussion, and indeed the author's treatment of not a few of them is exceedingly general and brief. Moreover, the author fails to make use of a great many important sources and secondary works. In his introductory remarks he says: "In maintaining her stand against the rising pretensions of the Nationalist State the Church . . . displays her marvelous stability. Her will to live and the soundness of her constitution are conspicuously patent in her reaction to the poisoned 'modern mind'. . . . Thus through the course of the nineteenth century we behold her as she steadily recovers her strength, reorganizes her forces, combats false systems, boldly champions religion, morality, and truth." This point of view underlies the entire treatment. Issues and personalities, processes and motives, are appraised in accordance with it. The book is well written and makes interesting reading.

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN.

*A Century of Social Thought: A Series of Lectures delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial Celebration of that Institution.* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, pp. vi, 172, \$2.00.) In this book the lectures on "Education" by C. H. Judd, "Science and Belief" by J. C. Merriam, and "Government Planning" by Robert Moses are concerned more with proposals for reform than with what has been accomplished. Those

on "Religion" by H. S. Coffin, "Socio-Cultural Trends" by P. A. Sorokin, "Economics" by H. G. Moulton, and "Juristic Thinking" by Roscoe Pound are more illuminating from a historical point of view, and the present reader found the last two particularly worthy in that respect. DONALD O. WAGNER.

*Histoire du mouvement ouvrier.* By ÉDOUARD DOLLÉANS. Volume II, 1871-1936. (Paris, Colin, 1939, pp. 402, 45 fr.) The second volume of this work is, like the first (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 389), written with ability and charm and is full of enthusiasm and idealism. We find, as in the first volume, sympathetic and well-drawn portraits of labor leaders and vivid descriptions of strikes and decisive events such as the revolutions in Russia. Dr. Dolléans has read widely in the government archives of France, contemporary newspapers and reviews, proceedings of labor congresses, and diaries and letters of labor leaders. As a result, his book is of value in describing personalities and in portraying emotions. The reader gets a vivid impression of Lenin and his methods of work and of his personal magnetism. Our heartstrings are torn by the emotions of the labor leaders who see the World War coming and then live through it. We understand the confusion and uncertainty of our own time. But is this history? Professor Dolléans speaks much of idealism and culture, yet he seems unable to rise above partisanship and national prejudice. He does not give facts impartially but selects them skillfully to develop a thesis. He calls his book a history of the labor movement, but it is primarily a history of revolutionary syndicalism in France. All who favor this movement are heroes; all who oppose it, from whatever motives, are villains. There are excellent descriptions of the different revolutions in Russia, a couple of brief sketches of the labor movement in England, and a very brief account of the Knights of Labor in the United States but practically nothing on the labor movements in Germany or Italy. Because of its partisanship and prejudices, its lack of synthesis and of philosophical judgments, the second volume of Professor Dolléans's book will be of slight value to American historians or economists. ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

*Egypt and the Formation of the Anglo-French Entente of 1904.* By JOSEPH J. MATHEWS. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. x, 141, \$1.50.) This admirable monograph is a product of Professor Lingelbach's seminar at the University of Pennsylvania and lives up to the high tradition established by members of that group. It is based largely on documentary material most of which has seen the light of day in the postwar period as well as on contemporary newspapers which have not been adequately exploited in the past, and consequently it renders earlier studies obsolete. It is the author's contention that the Moroccan problem has been overemphasized in studying the formation of the Entente Cordiale and that the Egyptian question was in reality the paramount factor. Certain it is that British statesmen at all times regarded a regularization of the United Kingdom's position in the Nile basin as the most important part of the proposed compact and that they deemed the settlement of 1904 a huge success because it attained that objective. The author breaks new ground in demonstrating that French statesmen had come to realize by 1900 that France could never regain her position in Egypt and that they deliberately turned to Morocco as compensation. An agreement therefore proved surprisingly easy. Of particular interest is the chapter covering the public reception of the Entente. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

*La question de l'Adriatique, 1914-1918: Recueil de documents.* By PAUL-HENRI MICHEL, bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque de Documentation contemporaine,

docteur ès lettres. [Publications de la Société de l'histoire de la Guerre.] (Paris, Costes, 1938, pp. lxxxiv, 296, 60 fr.)

*La question d'Orient, 1918-1937: La paix de la Méditerranée.* By ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. xvi, 538, 50 fr.)

*The Turkey of Atatürk: Social Process in the Turkish Reformation.* By DONALD EVERETT WEBSTER. (Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1939, pp. xvi, 337, \$2.50.) In recent years numerous books on Kamâl Atatürk and modern Turkey have appeared, but many of them are so impressionistic that anyone familiar with the new state hesitates to rely upon them very extensively. Professor Webster, however, has drawn an unemotional picture of contemporary development in Turkey, and his book, based on official and private statistics, government publications, and personal observations, presents a truer view of life in Turkey than existed before. After a brief survey of the origin, growth, and decay of the Ottoman Empire, the reform movements of the nineteenth century, and the period of the Young Turks the reader is plunged into the aftermath of the World War and the formation of the nationalist republic, the more interesting and valuable part of the study. The author explains the six main points of Kamâlist ideology and sheds more light on some concepts, such as "populism" and "étatisme", than most Turks, themselves, can do. One should read the last chapters of the book, which present factual material on the advance of civilization and the increase of production in Turkey, before passing judgment on the accomplishments of the Kamâlist regime. Sometimes, however, the reader is left uncertain whether Professor Webster is stating actual fact or repeating official governmental propaganda, and sometimes the author allows his enthusiasm to color the picture, but no one who has visited the interior of Turkey "before and after" can fail to be impressed favorably. Supplemented with charts, maps, photographs, and appendixes containing the Constitution of the Republic and the Program of the Party, the book unquestionably gives the fullest and the best account of postwar Turkey. SYDNEY N. FISHER.

*International Law Situations, with Solutions and Notes, 1937.* [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1939, pp. viii, 193, 25 cents.) The problems dealt with in the present volume of this well-known series are naval protection during periods of strained relations and war and the relationship of the right of jurisdiction over polar areas to certain neutral and belligerent acts.

*Political Handbook of the World: Parliaments, Parties, and Press as of January 1, 1939.* Edited by WALTER H. MALLORY. (New York, Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1939, pp. 207, \$2.50.)

*World Federation.* By OSCAR NEWFANG. With a French translation by Pierre Gault. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1939, pp. xi, 117, xii, 121, \$1.50.)

*International Studies in Modern Education.* By S. H. BAILEY, London School of Economics and Political Science. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 309, \$5.00.) This describes the present state of instruction and research in international relations in several European countries and the United States.

*The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe.* By MICHAEL OAKESHOTT. With a Foreword by Ernest Barker. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xxiii, 224, \$3.50.) "The object of this book is to pro-

vide the relevant material for beginning a study of the social and political doctrines of contemporary Europe. These doctrines I have taken to be five in number—Representative Democracy, Catholicism, Communism, Fascism and National Socialism; and in each case I have attempted to collect the best available statements—sometimes official, always authoritative—of the more important elements which compose the doctrine."

*Dictatorship in the Modern World.* Edited by GUY STANTON FORD. Second edition. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 362, trade edition \$3.50, text edition \$2.75.)

*Revolutions and Dictatorships: Essays in Contemporary History.* By HANS KOHN. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. xii, 437, \$3.50.) Of books on modern dictatorship in general the reader can find no better guides than these two. The first is a new and enlarged edition of a work first issued in 1935 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 338). The usefulness of this excellent book, the joint production of more than a dozen distinguished scholars, has been much increased by the revision, which brings it up to date, and by the chronology, which has been placed at the end of the book, giving the chief events of each dictatorship from 1917 to April, 1939. Several interesting chapters have also been added, and the whole political, economical, and social implications of dictatorship have been more acutely brought out as time has added fresh evidence. Professor Kohn, who contributes one of the chapters to President Ford's volume, develops his opinions on a larger scale in his own book. His chief concern is the cause and true character of modern dictatorship, especially of the nationalist-totalitarian or fascist brand. He dissents altogether from the communist thesis that fascism is a mere last stand of capitalism, pointing out that it has a truly revolutionary and demagogic origin, that extensive capitalistic support came to Mussolini and Hitler only after their movements were already near to success, and that the goal of fascism is not security but unlimited expansion and conquest at any risk. He dissents also from the isolationist thesis that the present European crisis is merely a collision between German imperialism and Anglo-French imperialism, a struggle, in his own effective phrase, between "a young buccaneer and a retired and now well-behaved pirate" (p. 414). He believes, and very cogently argues, that totalitarian despotism is really a new religion, a fanatical and persecuting church whose God is the State, and that its force can be met only by countervailing force in a world which has become too small to live half enslaved and half free.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* Fourth Series, Volume XXI. (London, the Society, 1939, pp. vii, 255.) This volume contains Professor F. M. Stenton's presidential address, "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: England in the Sixth Century", and in addition the following papers: "The Development of English Medieval Scholarship between 1660 and 1730" by David C. Douglas, "The Idea of a Mercantile State" by A. V. Judges, "English and Čech Influences on the Husite Movement" by R. R. Betts, "The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber, 1630-41" by Henry E. I. Phillips, "Fox's Martyrs: The General Election of 1784" by Mrs. Eric George.

*Papers of the British School at Rome.* Volume XIV (New Series, Vol. I). (London, The British School at Rome, Macmillan, 1938, pp. x, 168, plates xix.) This new series returns to a small format and broadens the scope of the *Papers*. Historical, archaeological, and artistic subjects are represented in the six articles in the present volume. The sculpture of a Romanesque church of the Monastery of Santa Maria della Strada in southern Italy is the subject of a very interesting

study by Evelyn Jamison. Twelve photographs and a collection of Latin documents relating to the history of the monastery are valuable accompaniments of the text. K. M. T. Atkinson has published with photographs an account of the contents of the graves from Selinus, belonging to the early Greek period in Sicily, which are preserved in the Museum of Palermo. The topographical problem of the position of Pons Sublicius and its relation to the Island of the Tiber are presented by Margaret E. Hirst. That Gaius Gracchus was first to recruit members of the extortion courts exclusively from the *equites* is reaffirmed by J. P. V. D. Balsdon. Ronald Syme has evaluated Caesar's part in making the senate representative of Italy as a whole. In the concluding article of this series F. H. Wilson pictures the fate of Ostia in the economic decline of the third century. The volume is admirably indexed. GENEVA DRINKWATER.

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ANCIENT HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

*A Short History of the Ancient World.* By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH and PAUL GRADY MOORHEAD, Louisiana State University. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xvii, 653, \$3.75.)

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.



*Hellenic History.* By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD. Revised and rewritten by CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiv, 398, \$4.50.)

*Interpretation der agramer Mumienbinde.* By KARL OLZSCHA. [Klio.] (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939, pp. viii, 217, 13 M.) Out of all that has been written concerning the interpretation of the fragmentary Etruscan document known as the Agram mummy wrapping perhaps one tenth has lasting value, and out of what survives from the decimated ranks perhaps one tenth will prove finally right. Olzscha's monograph belongs to the survivors. Historians, unless they are also Etruscologists, will not be interested in the minute linguistic argument which Olzscha has marshaled in support of his interpretation, but they will want to know that it is impressive in its learning, carefulness, detail, range, and results, as well as in its freshness—that is where it is novel, which, praise be, it does not even attempt to be everywhere. Olzscha, wise man that he is, is content to leave some things unknown and content too to leave Torp's solid results undisturbed. It is in his favor that his own discoveries make use of those, at least the real ones, of his predecessors. In brief, then, he has succeeded in confirming the view that the Agram book is essentially ritualistic in character and in showing that it falls into a number of rubrics, each of which contains most or all of the necessary elements (invocation, oblation, and the rest) of known prayers as used by the peoples of ancient Italy. Better still, his theories of the grammatical structure of Etruscan, notably the passive character of its verbal forms (accompanied by ergative and objective forms in the noun), lead to the interesting if not unexpected conclusion (p. 105) that we must still turn to Asia Minor and the Near East in the hope of finding a language (Urartaish or Chaldish, according to Olzscha) "nicht nur zeitlich, sondern auch geographisch dem Etruskischen näher als alle anderen Sprachen gleichen Struktur". J. WHATMOUGH.

*History of Ancient Civilization.* By ALBERT A. TREVER, Lawrence College. Volume II, *The Roman World.* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1939, pp. xvi, 817, \$4.00.)

*Augustan Art: An Exhibition commemorating the Bimillennium of the Birth of Augustus.* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939, pp. xv, 26, Fig. 64, 50 cents.)

*La vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'empire.* By JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. (Paris, Hachette, 1939, pp. 348, 25 fr.) The author presents first the physical aspect of the city of Rome: the magnificence of its forums and public buildings, its area and the size of its population, the layout and furnishings of the houses, the hustle and bustle of the streets. Next he gives an account of its social complexion: its cosmopolitanism, its class flexibility, the standards of living, and the effects of concentration of wealth. The family is discussed: marriage, the weakening of the father's authority, the emancipation of woman, divorce and its effects. Then comes a survey of the cultural life: the school, methods of instruction, the decay of the old religion, and the coming of new cults. All this forms the stage upon which the daily life of the Romans is enacted. After a description of the calendar a day is presented as gentlefolk might have lived it—their rising, toilette, breakfast, interviews with their clients, and the merchants and craftsmen they saw as they went out to the law courts or on political business or to a lecture. Lastly there is a description of amusements—the races, the theater, the amphitheater, gaming, the baths, and dinner. This volume is part of a popular series by different writers on the daily life of civilized peoples at a distinctive stage of their history. Those acquainted with Carcopino will find again in this book the erudition, originality, and flashes of brilliance which they are accustomed to expect of him.

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA.



## GENERAL ARTICLES

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## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

*Im Kampfe um Chalcedon: Geschichte und Inhalt des Codex Encyclius von 458.*

By THEODOR SCHNITZLER. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, Gregorian University, 1938, pp. iv, 132.) This monograph represents the first attempt at a thorough investigation of the contents of the *Codex Encyclius* and its place in the ecclesiastical history of the fifth century. In particular it is a contribution to the literature on Chalcedon and its aftermath. The author does not pretend to add much to E. Schwartz's history of the codex, the manuscripts, and the editions. In one point, however, he differs from Schwartz and maintains with Baluze that there once existed an earlier Latin translation than that of Epiphanius (pp. 67-71). To the present reviewer his arguments seem amply to confirm the position of Baluze. It is interesting to observe with Schnitzler (pp. 5-9) that only from the *Codex Encyclius* do we know that at the beginning of Marcian's reign there was a barbarian incursion into one of the provinces, probably Pontus, and that, again at the beginning of his reign, Marcian issued an edict antedating that of Chalcedon and upholding the orthodox position. In the matter of Christology this work is expository and descriptive rather than critical. The writer naturally reflects the point of view of Roman Catholic orthodoxy, quotes Newman's *Apologia* to show the bearing upon his conversion of his study of the monophysite controversy, and with E. Stein attacks what both call the "machtanbeterische Ideologie" of E. Caspar. But surely from the fact that everything is not intelligible in terms of a "struggle for power", it does not follow that nothing is. One may grant a genuine concern for the integrity of dogma on the part of the Roman See and the champions of orthodoxy and at the same time allow for the influence of secular considerations upon their conduct. It is precisely in Schnitzler's failure to take into consideration the nonreligious background of the theological arena that his account misses being complete. WILLIAM F. McDONALD.

*Imperial Byzantium.* By BERTHA DIENER. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1938, pp. 396, \$3.50.) The German original of this book is entitled *Byzanz, von Kaisern, Engeln und Eunuchen*, which gives a better idea of its content than the more urbane English caption. It is a typical specimen of a form of historical approach which has become progressively frequent in recent years, where the authors cull the bizarre, piquant, or risqué episodes in the history of a period or of a country and dress them up

tastefully for popular consumption. The writer is quite widely read in the modern literature on the subject and draws her material from it, though she occasionally goes behind it to the original sources. Discussions of the political and religious aspects of the Byzantine state are interspersed somewhat haphazardly with vignettes of personalities where our sources allow of detailed characterization, such as Liutprand and Anna Comnena. Some incautious or erroneous statements occur, as when the author, failing to mention Constantine's experience with the Donatists, says that the Arian controversy was the first disappointment along the line of religion which Constantine experienced (p. 24) and that the Roman army consisted mainly of Teutons, Celts, and Slavs (p. 33); for Molinus (p. 245), read Maleinos. The translation is rather free in some places. Thus on page 272 the original text reads "Maria von Alanien, aus hochrassigem iranischen Nomadenstamm, ähnlich den heutigen Tscherkessen", which is rendered: "Mary of Alania, daughter of Iranian nomads, akin to the latter-day Circassians". The Alans had ceased to be nomads for centuries and are not "akin to" but *like* the Circassians.

ROBERT P. BLAKE.

*Le serment du prophète.* By J. AUBERT. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1938, pp. 112, 20 fr.) Chief among three Arabic documents that fell into the hands of an officer in the French expedition to Egypt under Napoleon is a copy of what purports to be the covenant given by the Prophet Mohammed to the Christians in the conquered territories in the second year of the Hegira and written in the hand of his son-in-law, 'Ali ibn-abi-Talib. Needless to say, the original document is spurious, but both Madame Aubert and Professor Edmond Poupe, who contributes the introduction, accept its authenticity—like many others before them—and offer the fantastic hint that Kléber may have been assassinated because of his knowledge of the promises made therein to the Christians. The Arabic is photographically reproduced in such small size as to make it illegible without a magnifying glass, and the translation is free and in parts inaccurate. For her historical background Madame Aubert drew largely upon Biblical, legendary, and traditional history. The "annexes" include, among others, reproductions in Arabic of a firman by Sultan Salim, another by Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar, and a proclamation to the people of Algeria at the time of the arrival of the French troops, together with their translations. The book closes with a curiously constructed map in which Mecca appears in southern Arabia. PHILIP K. HITTI.

*Monastic Studies.* By WATKIN WILLIAMS. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 198, 12s. 6d.) This collection of fourteen short essays is from the learned pen of the author of *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*. Twelve of the studies have appeared in journals during the past eleven years and may well have been part of the preparation for the larger work. They range in point of time from a discussion of three Merovingian foundations to the twelfth century. For the most part they are paraphrases, with a running commentary, of documents such as the *Dialogus inter cluniacensem monachum et cisterciensem de diversis utriusque ordinis observantiis* and the *Exordium magnum cisterciense* and so make available to the general British public the contents of documents otherwise closed to it. The usefulness of the volume in this country, however, is problematical. A volume of studies such as this, concerned for the most part with the minutiae of history and larded with direct quotations from the Latin sources and technical ecclesiastical Latin terms, is not likely to make much of an appeal to the general public; and since scholars are familiar with the sources paraphrased and will prefer in many cases to consult more exhaustive treatises

on the subjects discussed in the separate studies, one fears that this urbane little volume will not have the wide public on this side of the Atlantic which it merits.

HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

*Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de Studio Legendi: A Critical Text.* By CHARLES HENRY BUTTIMER. (Washington, Catholic University Press, 1939, pp. lii, 160, \$2.00.) Thirty of the fifty manuscripts known to be from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were used to establish this text of the *Didascalicon*. The introduction of fifty-two pages is confined to a discussion of textual problems. An essay giving some consideration to the life and works of Hugh might well have been included.

*An Annotated Reading List on the Waldenses: Selected Books and Titles in English.* Prepared by ANN AUGUSTA ESBENSHADE, Library of the Yale Divinity School, under the direction of Roland H. Bainton, Yale University. (New York, American Waldensian Aid Society, 1939, [pp. 8], 25 cents.) This is "the fore-runner of a comprehensive bibliography".

*The Great Red Book of Bristol.* Edited by E. W. W. VEALE. *Text, Part II.* [Bristol Record Society.] (Bristol, the Society, 1938, pp. 241.) In 1931 the Bristol Record Society published *The Great Red Book of Bristol, Introduction, Part I*—a valuable essay on burgage tenure by E. W. W. Veale (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 739). The second part of Mr. Veale's introduction, on the Bristol courts, has not yet appeared. Meanwhile, however, the society has begun publishing the text of the Great Red Book: Part I as Volume IV of its Publications (1933) and Part II as Volume V (1938). These two volumes include a large variety of documents mainly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: royal and ecclesiastical writs, municipal ordinances, financial accounts, judicial records, letters of safe conduct for persons and ships, trade licenses, grants of land, contracts, wills, memoranda, and the like. At least two additional volumes of text are contemplated.

CARL STEPHENSON.

*Voyage en Orient du roi Erik Ejegod et sa mort à Paphos.* By ARNO FELLMAN. (Helsingfors, Librairie Académique, 1938, pp. 198.) King Eric Ejegod (Evergood) of Denmark (1095-1103) set out, about the year 1102, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his wife, Botild, and a sizable following (3000?). He journeyed to Constantinople via a Baltic-Russian route which it is difficult to identify in detail. After Emperor Alexius I had honored his royal visitor with a splendid reception and persuaded him to accept a princely gift of money, Eric took ship to Cyprus, where he was seized by a malady and died. Botild presumably went on to Palestine; it is said that she died on the Mount of Olives and received burial in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The author's presentation of his subject seems unnecessarily broad and much too derivative. He has, after a fashion, sifted his source materials but not with the thoroughness that current historical scholarship demands and without recognizing all the implications of Eric's pilgrimage. A glaring fault is the inclusion of so much irrelevant matter—long extracts from the *Kalevala* (pp. 57-61) and from a seventeenth century panegyric of Finland (pp. 82-90), discussions on whether the Byzantine Empire was Roman (pp. 133-37) and on Greek theological literature (pp. 148-54), etc. Among the 101 illustrations and the 30 maps and plans it is difficult to find very many that serve a useful purpose in this book, interesting as they may be on other accounts.

EINAR JORANSON.

*Savaric de Mauléon, Baron and Troubadour.* By H. J. CHAYTOR. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xii, 96, \$1.75.) This is a pleasant

and useful little book. The diversity of Savaric de Mauléon's political activities and his contemporary reputation as a troubadour and patron of troubadours make him an unusually interesting subject for a biography. Unfortunately the available material about Savaric is both meager and scattered. Mr. Chaytor has gathered what can be found in the published records of the English government and the better-known chronicles. His material from France has been drawn from articles in local historical journals. He has been remarkably successful in the extremely difficult task of blending his scanty information about Savaric into the contemporary background so as to form a readable and comprehensible biography. In short, Mr. Chaytor has furnished the general reader who is interested in the Middle Ages with an excellent sketch of the life of one who was both baron and troubadour. The specialist in the early thirteenth century, however, will not regard Mr. Chaytor's work with complete satisfaction. He will wish that a more extended search had been made for other material; for instance the Pipe Rolls yield some useful details about Savaric's imprisonment in England. He will be rather troubled when he finds Philip Augustus "appointing" a king of Jerusalem and Peter of Brittany doing homage to Henry III as "king of France". Finally he will be extremely perturbed to see his old friend the English sheriff called a "viscount". But these are petty details. The student of the history of thirteenth century France and England will find Mr. Chaytor's book a convenient reference work on an important secondary political figure of the period.

SIDNEY PAINTER.

*De eruditione florum nobilium.* By VINCENT of BEAUVAIS. Edited by ARPAD STEINER. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938, pp. xxxii, 236, \$3.50.) All students of cultural history, whatever their medium of approach, are indebted to Dr. Steiner for the first text since 1481 of this pedagogical work written for the children of Louis IX of France. A carefully documented introduction on the date, manuscripts, sources, importance, and influence of *De eruditione* precedes the text. This latter is really based on one manuscript (P, s.13), with corrections from two others (M, s.14; R, s.15) and the incunabular edition. According to the editor, "M is a copy of P . . . [and] nearly as correct as P", "R was copied from an uncorrected version of P", and the incunabular edition "agrees in general with P, but occasionally reproduces errors of M" (p. xxix). Doubtless Dr. Steiner expects his readers with a penchant for palaeography to verify these statements by a detailed study of the apparatus, for he offers no evidence. Of the three manuscripts not used in establishing the text we are told only that, "dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they would not have contributed any material improvement on the text, and so they have not been considered" (p. xxviii). Readers might rightly have expected to be told why these manuscripts would contribute nothing and what was their relation, if any, to the three manuscripts employed. The tripartite critical apparatus notes (a) the testimonia or citations of other authors, (b) the differences between Vincent's and the modern readings of the same passages, and (c) the usual variants in the text proper. The verification of well over one thousand references, carefully tabulated in the index (14 pp.), is a heroic task which merits thanks in itself.

LESTER K. BORN.

*Feuda Gabalorum.* By HENRI BOULLIER DE BRANCHE. Volume I. (Nîmes, Chastanier Frères et Almeras, 1938, pp. 191.) The great lawsuit between the king and the bishop of Mende over the Gévaudan (1269-1307) is one of the most instructive processes of the late thirteenth century. It has left behind a mass of documents which show very clearly the methods and theories of royal officials. M. Boullier

de Branche is publishing one of these documents, the *enquêtes* on the domains and fiefs which each party reserved when the quarrel was ended by the pariage of 1307. The present volume contains only the *enquêtes* on domains and rights of justice; the section on the fiefs is to form a second volume. The material in this book will be useful chiefly to local historians, but there are several points of general interest. The care with which royal officials had secured and preserved the most insignificant rights in order to get a foothold in the region is a new testimony to their efficiency and zeal. The disintegration of the primitive unit of the *mansus* is evident; it may be divided into many *feus*. Descriptions of rights of justice do not always follow a normal pattern: for example, the king may have high and low justice but not "civilis jurisdictio", or the bishop may have "merum et mixtum imperium" and still lack low justice. Recent discoveries of Gallo-Roman pottery at Banassac are briefly described in an appendix.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

*Galeotto 1° del Carretto, marchese di Finale, e la Repubblica di Genova.* By G. GUGLIELMO SALVI. Part I. (Genoa, Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1937, pp. xiv, 323.)

*Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini als Publizist in der Epistola De Ortu et Auctoritate Imperii Romani.* By GERHARD KALLEN. (Cologne, Petrarca-Haus; Stuttgart, Kommissionsverlag Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1939, pp. 100, 4 M.) This volume contains an excellent translation of *De ortu* into German (the first into a modern language), a reprint of R. Wolkan's edition of the Latin text, and a notable introduction. Aeneas's treatise is usually associated with the school of thought which prepared the idea of sovereignty as defined by Bodin. Professor Kallen refutes this estimate. Aeneas's concept, he shows, was the old formula of Roman law, *princeps legibus solutus*, which was a far cry from sovereignty in the modern sense. This criticism is particularly timely, as it comes shortly after Professor McIlwain's *Growth of Political Thought* has pointed to the debt of Bodin to medieval feudal law. Kallen also gives evidence that Aeneas's ideas on the Empire were taken over largely from preceding writers, especially Engelbert von Admont, Jordanus von Osnabrück, Cusanus, and Antonio de Rosellis. The only element in Aeneas's work still recognized as original and "modern" (besides the masterful humanistic style and arrangement of the facts) is its emphasis on "nature", "natural law", and the *populus Romanus* as the legal and historical sources of the medieval Empire. Even this claim to originality, however, seems to be disputable. The references to "nature" as a driving force in the origin of the state and to "natural law" as justification of universal empire had all been made by Engelbert von Admont in the early fourteenth century, including the telling formula *docente natura* ("natura instigante et ratione docente", wrote Engelbert; see A. Posch, *Die staats- und kirchenpolitische Stellung E's von A.*, 1920, p. 46). Moreover, the concurrence of the *populus Romanus* with the pope in the coronations of Charlemagne and Otto I was being stressed by many humanists, particularly Bruni, Biondo, and Cusanus. Aeneas's contribution was to turn the tables and contend, contrary to historical truth, that it had been the Roman people who "proclaimed Charles Patricius and later on Augustus, with the consent of the Pope".

HANS BARON.

*Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm.* Edited by D. E. EASSON and ANGUS MACDONALD. (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1938, pp. xlv, 300.) This volume is a distinct contribution to the history of monasticism. Dugdale's *Monasticon* is peculiarly scant



in its documents relating to Scottish houses. The Inchcolm charters, however, do not seriously differ from those of other abbeys of the same period: revelation of the economic aspects of life, diplomatic forms, grants of land given in frank-almoyn, legal quarrels. The editors' chronological arrangement of the charters serves to bring these similarities into focus. Appendixes list the abbey's rentals, an important question, and the place names of its holdings. The most significant fact revealed by the charters is the change which came over monastic life as the Middle Ages waned, when numerous lawsuits, etc., took place over the ownership of land which had been freely granted a century before. This clearly reveals the changing attitude of the layman, especially his desire for a clearer distinction of jurisdictions. Not all the lawsuits, however, were due to usurpation of jurisdiction; many were attributable to the attempts of the monks to extend their lands. Charters 15, 19, 21, 26, and 29 illustrate such disputes. As a consequence of the new lay attitude, the monasteries were slowly drained of their resources, with the result that vicarages and appropriation of churches became the order of the day (see charters 14, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 32, 36, 42, 46, and 47). The part played in Anglo-Scottish politics is made evident in charters 32 and 37. Further evidence of this is supplied by the *Scotichronicon*. The present edition of the Inchcolm charters supplies evidence and pleads eloquently for further study of the place of the monastic system in the sphere of medieval institutions, particularly feudalism, and this despite the Cluniac reform and the twelfth century monastic revival.

J. F. O'SULLIVAN.

*Two Compotus Rolls of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, for 1491-2 and 1511-12.*

Edited by GWEN BEACHCROFT and ARTHUR SABIN. (Bristol, Bristol Record Society, 1938, pp. viii, 324.) Accounts of monastic officials were not meant for the public eye and hence have a high degree of objectivity. A substantial number of such accounts from English monasteries have already been published. In one respect, however, these two rolls of Saint Augustine's Abbey near Bristol are unique: they include the separate accounts of all of the obedientiaries of the abbey for the two years given. This is the more remarkable in that scarcely anything else remains of the monastic records of this house. To the troublous times of Henry VIII and Cromwell were added, in this case, the Reform Bill riots. This abbey of Victorine Canons was small but wealthy. Twice a year its chamberlain held court in the abbey's manors in Somerset, Gloucestershire, Devon, Dorset, and elsewhere. In addition the abbey owned some twenty churches. The total income averaged, for the two years, £750. Of this amount only about £65 was derived from trade, chiefly a transaction in malt, though the house was favorably situated for trade. Items of expenditure reveal a scale of living which was comfortable without being lavish. About one third of the total income was expended upon food, clothing, household equipment, and servants. In addition a considerable amount, which it is impossible to state exactly, was allotted to the canons for their private use. Only 3 per cent of the total income, and possibly less, was spent on charity. The abbey could pay its way and have, in a favorable year, a small surplus, it would seem. Of gross sins, including those of gluttony and waste, there is no trace. It is quite clear, however, from these records that the canons were comfortably at ease in their mode of life and balanced their accounts, in part, by keeping their charitable outlay at a minimum.

W. O. AULT.



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## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

*Writings on British History, 1935.* Compiled by ALEXANDER TAYLOR MILNE. [Royal Historical Society.] (London, Jonathan Cape, 1939, pp. 427, 12s. 6d.)

*A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain.* By ARTHUR LYON CROSS, Third edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xxvi, 1004, \$4.25.)

*The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word.* By DOUGLAS KNOOP and G. P. JONES. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1939, pp. x, 113, 7s. 6d.) These essays are valuable additions to the many works on the mason already contributed by the authors. Although it deals primarily with Scottish conditions, the volume contains many references to English and Continental practice and custom. There is a fine discussion of masons' working conditions, a thorough analysis of the position of the "cowan", and important bibliographical material in the many footnotes.

G. C. BOYCE.

*Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K. G., K. C. V. O., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.* Part XVII. Edited by M. S. GIUSEPPI. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xlv, 731, \$4.00.) This volume has many dull letters from Lord Zouch and Say and Sele; importunate letters from Lord Cobham, who was growing weary of confinement in the Tower; sprightly letters from our old friend of the State Papers, Domestic, Thomas Wilson; too many letters from the officious Sir William Waad, the new lieutenant of the Tower, who had to entertain majesty and court with the doings of the lion and lioness and two whelps in the Tower; fewer letters from James I to his "Little Beagle" than might be expected; miscellaneous letters from the earls of Shrewsbury and Northumberland; lengthy letters about foreign affairs from Edmondes, Vere, Dudley Carleton, and others. But very many of the epistles are from Lord This and Sir William That and Lady Bridget, desiring land or grants or thinking up new offices to extract money from the harassed public or from miserable recusants, a little of which would come to the government and most to themselves. The begging in London streets has an aristocratic tradition. The state was expected to provide out-of-door relief for courtiers and their friends, the equivalent of our politicians. James is the same gossipy, small-townish, shrewd, and self-important Scot as ever, who enjoyed the kingship because it meant that he was on the inside of all that went on. Robert Cecil, who had now become earl of Salisbury, seems to this reviewer able to conduct the affairs of the country—and his own—with restraint, with some conception of principles of statecraft, with a sense of responsibility to the possible, and with some subtlety and even clairvoyance. His failure was with parliament.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*Acts of the Privy Council of England. 1626, June-Dec. 1627, Jan.-Aug.* [The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. iv, 524; iv, 600, \$8.00; \$9.00.) These two volumes cover one of the less colored segments of the early seventeenth century. The privy council is much taken up with the matter of collecting forced loans from reluctant country gentlemen. Provisions are being demanded and ships and naval stores. It is pitiful to see the attempt of the government to carry on its activities and prepare

for war without ready money. The burden of paying is being shunted onto local communities, and those communities are already old hands in avoiding the expenditure of their own cash. The direction of government was weak. Those countless details that fill the records of the Elizabethan council are missing. The Elizabethan council had eyes all over the counties to see what needed to be done, and its voice to local officials was urgent. But the council of the first years of Charles I was unaware of what was happening in the villages and unable to inject vigor into local government. George Villiers was thinking of himself and his kin and what they could get out of it, and the men around him were little better. Now and then the government had an inkling that it had lost its hold in the country. A letter to the archbishop of Canterbury is worth quoting: "It is the breach of unity which is grown too great and common amongst men of all sorts. . . . We have by all means endeavored union and require of you to preach it". Preaching was not enough, and trouble was ahead. It seems a pity that the *Acts of the Privy Council* are not published in modern spelling. The old spelling does not seem to add anything, not even clues as to pronunciation.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*Sir John Vanbrugh, Architect & Dramatist, 1664-1726.* By LAURENCE WHISTLER. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. 327, \$5.00.)

*The Corporation of Leicester, 1689-1836.* By R. W. GREAVES. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 174, \$3.50.) The author of this modest volume has carefully examined a wealth of printed and manuscript material and has presented a clear picture of the essential character and problems of the corporation of Leicester in the period between the Glorious Revolution and the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. It is not an exhaustive study, yet its impress on the reader is heightened by the fact that its method is selective and topical. The basic problems of the corporation were its restricted legal boundaries and its lack of effective local jurisdiction. In form the corporation was close; in character it was Tory and Anglican. Until 1800, however, it represented the interests of the town as a whole in seeking the multiplication of its fairs and markets and in endeavoring to develop communications with the outer world as the new industrial age demanded. The author suggests that because of its Tory bias it showed sympathy for the distressed frame-work knitters. But in so doing the corporation tended to lose touch with the industrialists, even as its own enclosure act cost it the support of lesser folk. These facts, coupled with the corporation's Tory politics and its bitter hostility towards nonconformists, ultimately caused the development of a formidable opposition. Nevertheless, the old corporate body was so firmly entrenched that the opposition's first complete victory in parliamentary elections was postponed until 1832, and not until 1835 did the nonconformist radicals win municipal power. Throughout the volume there are pregnant references to machine smashings, to the power of the chapels, and to middle-class determination to be rid of the ills and inefficiencies resulting from the continued existence of an outmoded municipal body. The book is a most helpful supplement to the admirably edited *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, and more municipal studies of the same order would be most welcome.

ROBERT H. GEORGE.

*Defoe's First Poem.* By MARY ELIZABETH CAMPBELL. (Bloomington, Principia Press, 1938, pp. ix, 222, \$2.50.) This monograph, embodying part of the material of a doctoral dissertation, accomplishes in scholarly fashion its author's intent: to call attention to Defoe's first attempt at verse and to place *A New Discovery of an*

*Old Intreague* in proper setting. The "intreague" was that of Lord Preston, John Ashton, and Edmund Elliott for bringing back King James from over the water and unseating Defoe's hero, William III. The occasion for the writing of the poem was the petition of 117 members of the common council against the reversal of the judgment on the quo warranto brought by the second Charles against the City of London. Eight of the petitioners had served on juries in the trials of Lord William Russell and Henry Cornish. Defoe believed these men and the rest, as well, to be Jacobite plotters. The judgment had favored Charles and been detrimental to the liberties of the City. The petitioners claimed that under William III their liberties were still in jeopardy, whereas Defoe held that the signers of the paper were motivated by treason and ambition. He linked their efforts with the Preston plot but did not forge the link, Miss Campbell thinks, until the poem was ready for the public. Miss Campbell's admiration for Defoe does not blind her to the fact that the genius of the King of Lampoons was not adapted to the "trammels of versification". She proves herself a scholarly detective, tracking down all but a few of the obscure references of a poem that celebrates "actions born of yesterday". They are forgotten today. By timeliness and vigor invective the "satyr" once could please. Before posterity it stumbles under bad rhyme and uneven rhythm. May peace attend this veteran of party politics, and may Miss Campbell find material worthier of scholarship!

DORA NEILL RAYMOND.

*Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies.* By RUTH BOURNE. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939, pp. viii, 334, \$3.00.) Miss Bourne prefaces her study with an exposition of Britain's economic stakes in the West Indies and the ambition, in rivalry with France, to appropriate more of the resources of Spanish America. Her monograph, though not exhaustive, is a careful and judicious appraisal of the navy during Queen Anne's War. The colonies themselves, as regards fortifications and the will to mobilize resources and co-operate, present a scene of perilous insecurity. They relied on British sea power, but Miss Bourne's researches in admiralty archives reveal how little such confidence in the navy was justified, characterized as it was by lack of centralized, co-ordinated, responsible, and efficient administration and crippled by debt, inadequate revenue, and graft. Capture of the Spanish plate fleets was the major objective of English and French fleets, a quest wherein France had an advantage because of the Assiento of 1702. Britain's only conspicuous victory in this venture was over the French off Vigo, attended by the taking of many Spanish galleons. Benbow's defeat at Santa Marta and the subsequent trial of mutineers is judiciously examined. The book ends with a critical appraisal of the Treaty of Utrecht. Though Britain achieved a balance of power, Miss Bourne disagrees with Mahan and believes that the "noiseless, steady, exhausting pressure which reduced Holland and Spain to comparative insignificance, brought France to revolution . . . was not naval but financial". Though most patriots accepted the war as unavoidable, glorious, and profitable, Miss Bourne concludes that England's "lunge for the trade and treasure of Spanish America was costly, futile, and unnecessary". She confirms Adam Smith's judgment that it was "not the Peace of Utrecht which promoted the unexampled prosperity of our commercial affairs, but it was the peace".

FRANK W. PITMAN.

*Der Sinn der englischen Festlandspolitik: Reden und Schriften britischer Staatsmänner aus zwei Jahrhunderten.* Mit einer Einführung herausgegeben von WALTER BARGATZKY. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1939, pp. 238, 3.75 M.) This deals with speeches and writings of British statesmen from the elder Pitt to Neville Chamberlain.



*The Rise of George Canning.* By DOROTHY MARSHALL. With an Introduction by Harold Temperley. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xviii, 310, \$5.00.) This adds another good volume to the list of biographies which deal with the early life and apprenticeship years of prominent English statesmen. Despite the existence of a large number of works dealing with Canning, this study is a genuine contribution to the early part of his career because it is based primarily on hitherto unpublished papers in the possession of the Earl of Harewood. These papers include letters, particularly from Canning to his wife after 1800, and a full journal for the years 1793-95. This journal is not a private diary but an account of Canning's day to day life which he wrote up and sent in installments to the Reverend William Lee. Miss Marshall's task has been to make a careful selection of representative passages from both letters and journals and to weave them into her narrative. The result is a fragment of a biography which is more interesting than most novels and is, at the same time, an effective background for a study of the public life of one of the greatest of British foreign secretaries. Certainly no one who has read this work can fail to understand why Canning's arrogance and lack of judgment kept him from playing the part which his ability entitled him to play from 1809 to 1822 or why he succeeded so brilliantly when the opportunity came, from 1822 to 1827. The chief criticism of the book as a whole and of the two final chapters in particular is the paucity of interpretation. It is obvious that Miss Marshall has not given us the full benefit of her knowledge and that interpretations along the lines of those in the very suggestive introduction by Professor Temperley would have made a good book even better.

DONALD GROVE BARNES.

*Miss Weeton: Journal of a Governess, 1811-1825, with an Epilogue.* Edited by EDWARD HALL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xvii, 422, \$4.25.) This second volume carries the story of Miss Weeton's rather dull, depressing, and disappointed life from 1811 to 1825, and the miracle remains—it is still interesting! It is, indeed, rather a "human" than a "historical" document, but it provides a supplement to the equally depressing chronicles of factory workers and of members of high society in the England of that period, for it reveals that misery was not confined to the "lower classes" nor selfishness to the upper. It has another quality. Of all the haunts of dullness in which men and women have chosen or been compelled to live, three have been more or less famous in the world of letters—a small, eighteenth century German court, a French provincial town, and a Russian village of almost any period. To these the pen of an obscure, unfortunate, and self-pitying English governess with a very considerable literary talent has added a fourth—a Lancashire village at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The proof of her literary gifts is that she has made it interesting. Of all the miracles, however, the greatest is that a century after her death these writings, after incredible if commonplace vicissitudes, should have survived and found publishers, editors, and readers to rescue their author from what seemed certain oblivion. It is easy to pronounce and hard to refute the dictum that, given even slightly different circumstances, their author might well have been another Brontë, for unquestionably she had the literary gift. And if the picture she paints is not a pleasing one, if she is as self-sympathetic as, let us say, Marie Bashkirtseff, she has drawn for us as unforgettable a portrait of an age and a society as that very different and more famous diarist, and one at least as readable and perhaps more understandable.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Home of the Hollands, 1605-1820.* By the EARL of ILCHESTER. (New York, Dutton, 1937, pp. xviii, 410, \$5.00.)



*Chronicles of Holland House, 1820-1900.* By the EARL of ILCHESTER. (*Ibid.*, 1938, pp. xvi, 554, \$5.00.) Lord Ilchester's earlier volumes on the first Lord Holland, on Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, and, in collaboration with his mother, the late Lady Ilchester, on Lady Sarah Lennox revealed the richness of the Holland House archives in eighteenth century material. Some five hundred of the nine hundred pages in the two volumes listed above are rightly devoted to the time between the marriage in 1797 of the third Lord Holland to the divorced wife of Sir Godfrey Webster and that lady's death in 1845, following by a few years her husband's. From Lord Ilchester's skillful narrative and well-handled excerpts from letters and documents a chronicle emerges, both truthful and fascinating, of those great years at Holland House and of those who, to quote Lord Ilchester, "endured the rigours of Lady Holland's hospitality". A student of these years who consults these books may quite likely come forth triumphant with a document to explain some hitherto obscure point. Inevitably the glimpses here given of the abundance of the Holland House archives will stimulate the longing of historians for further opportunities to search in them. But these volumes are not principally intended, nor are they primarily useful for such purposes. They are rather to be read and savored by those who delight in such a tale as Holland House has to tell. For them there is not a dull page. Further, they may be commended to all students of the nature and function of aristocracies, both to those who regret and to those who rejoice that, in the words of Greville, "the world never has seen and never will again see anything like Holland House".

GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

*The First Magazine: A History of the Gentleman's Magazine, with an Account of Dr. Johnson's Editorial Activity and of the Notice given America in the Magazine.* By G. LENNART CARLSON. (Providence, Brown University, 1938, pp. ix, 281, \$3.00.) Mr. Carlson has done splendid work in holding a mirror to a mirror of the early middle eighteenth century. His book is a result of the growing appreciation of the intrinsic interest and historical source value of periodical literature, and it should further stimulate such appreciation. Early newspapers have been chronicled, but this is the first full-length description of an early magazine. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the first of its kind, is well worth the study that has been devoted to it. After a brief essay on the life of Edward Cave, the founder of the publication, the author follows with chapters on its beginnings, its success, and the competition it engendered. The restrictions which prevented adequate reporting of parliamentary debates are carefully described. Especially interesting is the part that Dr. Johnson played in preparing reports of parliamentary proceedings because modern freedom of the press owes much to these early struggles. Public taste is reflected in the literary and critical essays Mr. Cave presented to his readers. The scientific items are eloquent on the state of science and the amateur interest in science affected by the gentlemen of the day. The poetry printed was more notable as an indication of public demand than as literature. The book is well written and shows familiarity with the activity of the period. It brings to life many of its intellectual interests as little else could. The author has been faithful to the evidence and spirit of the times, and he shows that the first magazine is as good a source of historical information as are its successors today.

FRED J. HINKHOUSE.

*Portrait of a Chef: The Life of Alexis Soyer, Sometime Chef to the Reform Club.* By HELEN MORRIS. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 221, \$3.00.) If only half the story which Mrs. Morris relates were true, the versatile and amusing Soyer would deserve the attention of historians. The

Victorian stomach was a fearsome thing. Soyer at once pandered to its extravagances and ministered to its needs. His kitchens at the Reform Club were one of the sights of London. His absurdly elaborate *pièces montées* were the talk of gourmets. But he was much more than a mere creator of culinary extravaganzas. He invented a popular "magic" portable stove, a famous relish, and various other concoctions and devices connected with his art. At the time of the Exhibition of 1851 he transformed Gore House into a "Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations", where, in the midst of garish splendors, he served every sort of meal from a shilling dinner to the most *recherché* banquet. His numerous books, which were immensely popular if we may judge by the sales, made important attempts to reform the cooking practices of rich and poor. And finally in the Crimean War he performed a part in feeding the army (which adopted a newly invented Soyer stove as a permanent part of its equipment) fully comparable to the better-known services of Florence Nightingale in another department. Mrs. Morris has written with obvious enthusiasm for her subject, and her book is bound to amuse as well as instruct her readers. There is little one would wish to quarrel with, but one would have welcomed some more adequate indication of the sources from which the material has been drawn. Except for a brief "acknowledgment" of certain personal assistance, the reader is left to his own conclusions.

CHESTER H. KIRBY.

*The British Army and the Continent, 1904-1914.* By J. E. TYLER. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. 190, \$4.20.) Mr. Tyler gives a very clear and judicious account of the much disputed secret "military conversations" which resulted in the sending of the British Expeditionary Force to France in 1914. General Grierson, who went to Berlin in 1896 sympathetically disposed toward the German people, soon expressed the opinion that England must go to war with Germany and that soon. He later became director of Military Operations at the British War Office. When the Moroccan Crisis looked serious he told Huguet, the French military attaché in London, unofficially "as comrade to comrade", that he was persuaded that "in case of war England would not hesitate to furnish us [the French], both by land and by sea, all the support she was capable of", saying that the minimum would be 100,000, which might be raised to 120,000. On December 20, 1905, Huguet sent off a long report of the details which Grierson had given him. This report (printed in the French Diplomatic Documents, Second Series, VIII, 351-54, but apparently too recently for Mr. Tyler to use) was followed a few days later by the secret but now familiar Huguet-Repington military conversations, which were soon officially approved by Sir Edward Grey. Mr. Tyler is scrupulously fair and careful in his estimates of the influence of Wilson, Sir Edward Grey, and others and of the strategic and political implications of the military conversations. If a criticism may be ventured, it is that he has relied too completely on British biographies. He therefore slightly minimizes the French confident expectation of British military support and Sir Edward Grey's consequent moral obligation.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*The Character of British Imperialism.* By VINCENT HARLOW, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. [Public Inaugural Lecture delivered at King's College, University of London, on March 1st, 1939.] (London, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. 38, 1s. 6d.)

*India: A Short Cultural History.* By H. G. RAWLINSON. Edited by Professor C. G. SELIGMAN. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. xiv, 452, \$7.50.) The author of this work "has been connected with the India educational service".

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

*Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. By R. B. MOWAT. (London, Arrowsmith, 1938, pp. 368, 15s.) This volume is not just another life of Rousseau written along the familiar lines of the *Confessions*. Mr. Mowat has made use of the recently published twenty volumes of the *Correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, edited by T. Dufour and P.-P. Plan, which both supplements and corrects the *Confessions*. As a consequence Rousseau emerges as a more "normal" person than he generally does from the books dealing with his career written before the publication of the *Correspondance*. Mr. Mowat devotes himself almost exclusively to telling the story of Rousseau's personal life, and he tells the story clearly and interestingly and with considerable sympathy for his hero. The book is designed to correct the unfavorable view of Rousseau contained in the earlier work of John Morley, who, for all his liberalism, was too stiffly Victorian to appreciate fully a man of romantic temperament like Rousseau. In his own time Rousseau's ideas and even more his way of life were suspect, and the legend grew of an erratic Rousseau. It was assiduously spread by the group of *philosophes* around Holbach, the *coterie holbachique*, that Rousseau so greatly detested and feared. Undoubtedly the hostile attitude of the *philosophes* affected the hypersensitive, self-centered Rousseau. The last part of the *Confessions* clearly shows that, toward the end of his life, Rousseau suffered from a persecution mania. Mr. Mowat's book is a sketch, rather than a finished portrait, of the Rousseau that he essayed to portray. As such it will prove an invaluable aid to those who, in the future, will undertake a re-evaluation of the life and work of the great *philosophe*.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

*Napoleon in Review*. By GEORGE GORDON ANDREWS. With an Introduction by Carl L. Becker. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xv, 343, vii, \$3.00.) The untimely death of Professor George Gordon Andrews, which occurred in March, 1938, was a distinct loss to American scholarship. The qualities of insight, honesty, and directness which distinguished his work as a writer and teacher are all evident in this volume of essays and appraisals, and public thanks are due to Professors Carl Becker and Howard Anderson for their care in seeing the manuscript through the press. The ten studies which comprise *Napoleon in Review* represent, in Mr. Andrews's own words, "an attempt to review certain aspects and characteristics of the man and his work". Much thoughtful and independent study of Napoleon's career enabled Mr. Andrews to speak with exceptional authority; an abiding love for and zest in teaching enabled him to maintain at all times a stimulating contact with his classes and his public. These entertaining reappraisals are not intended to add to the store of information about, but to the understanding of, Napoleon's place in history. The titles well suggest the provocative quality of the approach: Napoleon as "Maker of History" and as "Writer of History", his "Physical and Personal Qualities", his role as "Child of the Revolution" and "Child of Chance", his "Plans and Ambitions", his skill as a "Manager of Men", and his motives and reactions as revealed in his "Letters to Marie Louise" and in the "Memoirs of General de Caulaincourt". The conclud-

ing essay in this lucid and stimulating miscellany is a succinct analysis of Napoleon's fate at the hands of his eulogists and detractors, entitled "Damned and Deified". Students newly entering the field of Napoleonic studies will bless Mr. Andrews's memory for a volume which evokes in equal degree their enthusiasm and their critical insight.

GEOFFREY BRUUN.

*The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.* By WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE. Introduction by Hendrik Willem van Loon. Two volumes. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xxii, 467; x, 527, \$7.50.) This reprint of Professor Sloane's four-volume biography, originally published in 1896, seems to have been inspired by present-day dictatorships.

*La maison de France et l'Assemblée nationale: Souvenirs du Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, 1871-1873.* Publiés par son petit-fils le Duc d'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER. Préface de Gabriel Hanotaux, de l'Académie française. (Paris, Plon, 1938, pp. ix, 301, 20 fr.) These memoirs of the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier cover the first critical years of the Third Republic from 1871 to 1873. The author, of course, was a strong upholder of the monarchical idea and enjoyed considerable influence in the Assembly. Pasquier's *Souvenirs* are important additions to the political literature of this period.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*Erfaters van Onze Beschaving: Nederlandse Gestalten uit zes Eeuwen.* By JAN and ANNIE ROMEIN. Volume III, *17e tot de 19e Eeuw.* (Amsterdam, Querido, 1939, pp. 284, 3.25 fl.) This third volume adds eight biographies to the national portrait gallery which Mr. and Mrs. Romein opened in 1938. The tragic life of Jan Swammerdam is the first of the new series. He was a biologist whose passion for knowledge seemed a sin against God to the pietist that was his alter ego. He belonged to the seventeenth century, but the doubts that assailed and finally defeated him set him apart from that vigorous and self-confident age. The editor of his works, Herman Boerhaave, his junior by a generation, was a much more typical representative of the seventeenth century, although the larger part of his medical work belongs to the eighteenth. The other portraits are of Frans Hemsterhuis, the philosopher; Elizabeth Wolff, the novelist; Joan Derck van der Capellen, scion of a noble house, who became the champion of the people's bill of rights and of the American colonies in their war for independence; Willem Bilderdijk, romantic poet; Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, statesman and author of the first constitution of the new kingdom of the Netherlands; and King William I, who was a greater merchant than ruler. None of these have the stature of their seventeenth century predecessors. They were of a less heroic age and reflect in their achievements the lack of that ardent spirit that exalted the leaders of Dutch life in the preceding century. The authors write well. Their book is never dull. Even the least eventful life, that of Hemsterhuis, makes entertaining reading.

A. J. BARNOUW.

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

*This is Democracy: Collective Bargaining in Scandinavia*. By MARQUIS W. CHILDS. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 169, \$2.50.) This book attempts "to give an idea of what labor has achieved through the process of collective bargaining" in the northern democracies. It tells the story of how labor and industry have organized and how they bargain for wages and contains materials on labor governments, the relation between labor and the farmer, the co-operatives, etc. Well written, the book has, however, much of the somewhat baffling quality of the author's earlier work on "the middle way" in Sweden. The developments that constitute the background of the rise of organized labor in Scandinavia are summarized in a manner that deviates at several points from the story as told by Scandinavian writers, and the author shows no real familiarity with the native literature on his subject. In general, too, the place of labor in the story of increasing social legislation is stated in terms that claim too much or that are contradictory (*cf.*, pp. 1 and 58). The statement, for example, that in 1905 "the mere threat of a general strike [in Sweden] swung the balance for peace in the bitter dispute over Norway's demand for independence from Sweden" (p. 5) certainly represents a robust exaggeration. The same may be said of this statement made on page 158: "Employers have come to accept collective bargaining without any reservations whatsoever". I believe it correct to say that Childs tends to place labor's rise to importance altogether too early.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

*Denmark in History*. By J. H. S. BIRCH. (London, John Murray, 1938, pp. xix, 444, 15s.) Students of Scandinavian history will welcome this book but will consider it unfortunate that it suffers from inadequacies. In the opinion of this reviewer, these are especially regrettable in a work that deals with a country not often explored by historians writing in English. In the first place, the period before 1815 is given roughly three fourths of the text. Secondly, the story ends with 1926, which also marks the end of the eight-volume Danish history, *Det danske Folks Historie*; it is perhaps not too much to say that the important years since 1926 could have been surveyed fairly easily. Thirdly, the survey largely neglects economic and social development and occasionally shows surprising distribution of emphasis. These objections carry an implication not altogether fair to the author, for they may be taken to mean that the book is condemned because it is not the kind of survey the reviewer would prefer, both in terms of content and emphasis. Let it therefore be emphasized that the author has presented an outline of Danish history which students will find useful and stimulating.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

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## GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

*Anfänge deutscher Geschichtschreibung.* By FRIEDRICH GUNDOLF. Edited by ELISABETH GUNDOLF and EDGAR WIND. (Amsterdam, "Elsevier"; New York, Nordemann, 1938, pp. 176, \$3.00.) This is the fragment of a book which Gundolf began to write in the spring of 1931, immediately before his death, to be entitled "German Historians from Herder to Burckhardt". The part now published represents the introduction, and even this is incomplete as it leads only to the middle of the eighteenth century. Being a historian of German literature, Gundolf was more interested in problems of form and art than in the scientific contents of the works he analyzed. One of his aims was to show how German historiography from the outset was influenced by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Caesar. Gundolf had a marked predilection—and a justified one—for Swiss historians such as the two Tschudis and for all other analysts of popular movements. Because of Germany's historical evolution, her historiography, like her history, lacked coherence and unity—a defect which to some extent influenced Gundolf's own presentation of this evolution. The stylistic mannerisms of the Stephan George circle, of which Gundolf was an outstanding member, and the numerous quotations from German sixteenth and seventeenth century writers may make this fragment difficult for non-German readers. It would be worth while to execute Gundolf's last will and show how German historiography, making necessity a virtue, reached its climax in that universalism which originated in Germany's particularism and which made its scientific spokesmen, such as J. v. Müller, Ranke, Burckhardt, Johannes Janssen, superior to Treitschke and his school. Gundolf, it is true, often criticizes this political particularism, calling it a *Verhängnis*, but he does so with marked resignation, which appears to indicate that he fully acknowledged the cultural achievements to which it led.

WOLFGANG HALLGARTEN.

*Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen.* Edited by GUSTAV BERTHOLD VOLZ. Volume XLVI, *Juli, 1781, bis März, 1782.* [Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Oldenburg i. O., Stalling, 1939, pp. 619, 54.80 M.) On Sep-

tember 27, 1938, just after preparing this forty-sixth volume for publication, the venerable editor of the *P. C.*, Professor Volz, died. For more than four decades, from the twenty-fifth volume onward, he had been its editor, and since an extended analysis of the six hundred letters of this volume is out of the question in this brief notice, nothing can be more fitting than an estimate of the merit of his work. Thanks to his minute and conscientious scholarship the *P. C.* has become one of the most scientifically adequate of document publications. The volumes of his predecessors can scarcely be used without at the same time consulting the archival files of the "Cabinetsministerium", but Dr. Volz has given to the succeeding volumes an independent value as a record of Prussian foreign policy, without departing from the basic pattern of personal correspondence, by printing *in extenso* or in summary the letters of Prussian diplomats at foreign courts. Although this practice has expanded the bulk of the publication, it has made it vastly more useful. The charge of occasional suppression has been made against his predecessors, but the intellectual and scholarly integrity of Dr. Volz was irreproachable. He vastly enhanced the utility of his publication by a critical apparatus of footnotes, by an elaborate mechanism of cross references, and, above all, by an analytical table of contents which enables the user to find at a glance what he desires. The twenty-two volumes he has seen through the press remain an imposing monument to his careful scholarship, and one can only hope that the new editor, Dr. J. A. von Rantzau, will follow in his footsteps.

WALTER L. DORN.

*Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution.* By THORSTEIN VEBLEN. With an Introduction by Dr. JOSEPH DOREMAN. New edition. (New York, Viking, 1939, pp. xxi, 343, \$3.00.)

*Karl Marx: Selected Works.* In two volumes. Prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, under the Editorship of V. ADORATSKY. Editor English edition, C. P. DUTT. (New York, International Publishers, 1939, pp. xxiv, 479, xxiii, 694, \$2.25 each volume.) "The first volume contains works dealing for the most part with general questions of theory. . . . In the second volume are collected mostly historical and political works." The present popular edition was "issued first in Russian on the initiative of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U."

*My Life and History.* By BERTA SZEPS, FRAU SZEPS-ZUCKERHANDL. Translated from the German by John Sommerfield. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xiii, 324, \$3.00.) These memoirs, based on the diary and other papers of the daughter of Moritz Szepts, former editor of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, extend from 1878 to the Anschluss of 1938.

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

*Per la storia religiosa dello stato di Milano durante il dominio di Carlo V: Note e documenti.* By FEDERICO CHABOD. [Estratto dall' *Annuario del R. Istituto storico italiano per l'Età moderna e contemporanea.*] (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1938, pp. 297.) Now that Italian scholars have taken over the study of the Italian Reformation, they have made this field their own, and this volume conforms to the high standard already set up. It has profited by drawing on articles in regional periodicals not easily accessible outside of Italy and by coming after the author's *Lo stato di Milano nell'impero di Carlo V* (Rome, 1934), but it rests overwhelmingly on unpublished documents in the archives of Milan and Simancas and of the Augustinian Order at Rome. References in the footnotes are so full that the absence of a bibliography will be thought a shortcoming only by one hopeful of quickly spotting an omission. Nor is the neglect of books in English a matter of concern, since none known to this reviewer have anything to add; the author graciously refers to one he has used in translation. The causes of the movement for church reform in the Milanese are treated without reference to Patarine or other medieval movements in opposition to the clergy, though the suggestion is made (p. 97, n. 3) that the heterodox tradition persisted in the old medieval centers with which it had been identified. Neither the efforts of Barnabites, Schools of Christian Doctrine, and other organizations of the Counter Reformation nor those of the Augustinian general, Seripando, stemmed a movement which began with the criticism of the clergy by seceders from their own ranks and assumed an increasingly lay character by the time it was in its second period, from 1550 to 1552. Chabod has brought important evidence of its progress from the classes down to the masses; the net result is to etch more deeply the outlines of familiar figures and to introduce many new, if not often outstanding, ones.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

*Baron Ward and the Dukes of Parma.* By JESSE MYERS. With a Foreword by Professor G. M. Trevelyan. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xvi, 251, \$2.50.) This book represents considerable careful work based essentially on the Ward Papers and correspondence and the archives of Florence, Lucca, and Parma. The story of Thomas Ward, the Yorkshire groom, who without formal education yet managed to become the chief minister of the duke of Parma, is quite worth telling. He was a man endowed with considerable natural ability and real integrity, an honest and able conservative with genuine personal loyalties and quite different from the caricatures drawn by his political foes. It cannot be said that the dukes, Charles Louis and Charles Ferdinand, grow in historical stature by close investigation, but they at least become more human. Perhaps there is some exaggeration in the account of Ward's success in winning Schwarzenberg's recognition of the family's rights in 1848 and 1849: Austria's whole legal case in the Italian peninsula in those years was based on treaties and rights deriving from them. There are a few minor errors which scarcely detract from the merit of the book. It is not quite correct to state that the Hummelauer memorandum remained the official basis for peace negotiations until the battle of Novara (pp. 124, 133): it represented only what Lord Palmerston wished to be adopted as a basis. The Austrian government did not accept it, as is stated (p. 143). Nor is it true that Piedmont in 1849 refused to send plenipotentiaries to Milan to open peace negotiations with Austria until she had possession of Parma (p. 170). The Piedmontese delegates came to Milan on April 13 and there made the request that their government be permitted to purchase Parma. They with-

drew on April 23 but for weightier reasons than the Austrian refusal of that request.

HOWARD M. SMYTH.

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*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

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#### FAR EASTERN HISTORY

*C. H. Peake*

*He opened the Door of Japan: Townsend Harris and the Story of his Amazing Adventures in establishing American Relations with the Far East.* By CARL CROW. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. xvii, 275, \$3.00.) Mr. Crow, already well known for his works on China, became interested during his residence in Japan in the life of Townsend Harris, the first American consul to that country. In this biographical study the reader finds at last a full account of an American whose contribution to early American-Japanese relations has only recently been adequately appreciated on this side of the Pacific. Presented in a pleasing style, this book begins with Townsend Harris as a youthful merchant in New York in 1820, describes his role as chairman of the Board of Education of New York City and as the individual most responsible for the creation of what is now the College of the City of New York, and continues with an account of the amazing

events that finally led to his arrival in Japan in 1856. Over half of the work is then devoted to the arduous negotiations and lonely existence forced upon Harris prior to the eventual signing of the trade treaty between Japan and the United States in 1858, his residence in Japan for the next three years, and his final return to New York, where he died practically forgotten. Mr. Crow has presented in admirable fashion an interesting account of the one individual who, perhaps more than anyone else, actually opened Japan's closed door.

HUGH BORTON.

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## UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

## GENERAL

*The Attorney General in the American Colonies.* By OLIVER W. HAMMONDS, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. [Anglo-American Legal History Series.] (New York, New York University School of Law, 1939, pp. 24, \$1.00.)

*Odyssey of an American Family: An Account of the Roosevelts and their Kin as Travelers, from 1613 to 1938.* By HALL ROOSEVELT in collaboration with SAMUEL DUFF McCoy. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. xv, 339, \$3.75.)

*The Administration of Public Printing in the States.* By ESTAL E. SPARLIN. [The University of Missouri Studies.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1937, pp. 120, \$1.25.)

*Life in America: A Special Loan Exhibition of Paintings held during the Period of the New York World's Fair, April 24 to October 29.* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939, pp. xxix, 230, \$1.00.)

*Early Catholic Americana: A List of Books and Other Works by Catholic Authors in the United States, 1729-1830.* By WILFRID PARSONS. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xxv, 282, \$10.00.) Those who have experienced the inadequacy of the "gallant attempt" of Finotti in early Catholic Americana will appreciate the service which Father Parsons has rendered to all workers in the field. The introductory essay on Catholic printers and publishers will be indispensable to future historians of the press. While the book as a whole conforms to the best bibliographical practice of the day, the index deserves special mention as a model of completeness and of convenient arrangement. SISTER MARY AUGUSTINA (RAY).

*Writings of General John Forbes relating to his Service in North America.* Compiled and edited by ALFRED PROCTER JAMES. (Pittsburgh, Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1938, pp. xv, 316, \$3.50.) This collection does not add materially to our knowledge of Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne. It does not include letters written to Forbes, and more than fifty of the approximately two hundred documents have been printed elsewhere. The Bouquet Papers, from which many letters were taken, were used by Parkman and Kingsford, and the material from the Loudoun Papers antedates the expedition. Nevertheless, these letters are well worth reading. It would be hard to find anywhere a more vivid picture of the difficulties of campaigning in the American wilderness. Interesting details about the expedition appear. The choice of route, about which there was so much controversy, was due to Sinclair, the quartermaster general, who later sided with the Virginians against his commander. The plan of building fortified depots for supplies was taken from Turpin's *Essai sur la guerre*. The slowness of the advance was owing not only to the difficulties of roadbuilding and transport and to Forbes's efforts to win over the hostile Indians but also to the conviction that the best time for a forest campaign was after the leaves had fallen and to the belief, derived it appears from Croghan, that with the approach of winter the Indians at Fort Duquesne would return home. Above all, these letters reveal the personality of Forbes himself and amply confirm Parkman's judgment that he was a "steadfast and all-enduring soldier". ARTHUR H. BUFFINTON.

*Six New Letters of Thomas Paine: Being Pieces on the Five Per Cent Duty addressed to the Citizens of Rhode Island, Here first reprinted from the Provi-*

*denze Gazette and Country Journal of 1782 and 1783.* With an Introduction and Notes by HARRY H. CLARK. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1939, pp. xxxii, 63, \$2.50.) These "letters" should prove useful not only to students of Paine but to students of the Revolutionary War finances and the art of propaganda. They are Paine's newspaper contributions to the unsuccessful attempt to persuade Rhode Island to ratify the Continental Congress's recommendation of a five per cent import duty to meet the debts of the United States. All classes, it was argued, would benefit materially from the measure, not least the farmers. Though Paine was subsidized to write the articles, he disposed of his critics by saying, "I am not, like themselves, guided by self interest and narrow thinking". The editor has supplied an introduction almost as long as the text of the "letters". It is primarily devoted to adumbrating a thesis already advanced by other students of Paine, namely, that Paine was more conservative than is taught by the history books.

JOSEPH DORFMAN.

*Gilbert Stuart and his Pupils, together with the Complete Notes on Painting by Matthew Harris Jouett from Conversations with Gilbert Stuart in 1816.* By JOHN HILL MORGAN. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1939, pp. 102, \$3.50.)

*The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life.* By WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 270, \$3.25.) Of the major colonial churches the Episcopal was the most closely tied to the Old World, suffered most as a result of independence, and had the greatest handicaps to overcome in adjusting itself to its post-Revolutionary American environment. It failed to evolve any adequate policy of meeting the problems produced by the vast westward movement of population. As a result the Episcopalians were foredoomed to remain a relatively small body numerically for more than a hundred years. It was not until 1835, with the consecration of Jackson Kemper as a missionary bishop, that an adequate home missionary policy was inaugurated. It is with the critical years from 1800 to 1840, during which Episcopalianism was struggling with the problem of adjustment, that the author of this careful study is concerned. Dr. Manross is a historian and not a special pleader for his church. He does not hesitate to point out failures and weaknesses, nor does he attempt to dodge disagreeable facts. He deals frankly with the rising differences and conflicts within Episcopal ranks and calls attention more than once to the dangerous tendency of Episcopalianism toward "upperclassishness", which has been an unfortunate characteristic from the beginning. With the exception of the first two chapters and the concluding section, the treatment is topical. The Rector, the Missionary, the Parish, the Services, and the Laymen constitute the headings of the remaining chapters. In this work a body of sources hitherto little used has been drawn upon and has resulted in a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a phase of the religious and social developments in America during a formative epoch.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

*Five Cities: The Story of their Youth and Old Age.* By GEORGE R. LEIGHTON. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. x, 370, \$3.50.) The author aims to relate the story of American development as exemplified in five American cities: Shenandoah, Louisville, Birmingham, Omaha, Seattle.

*Abraham Lincoln Association Papers.* 1937; 1938. (Springfield, the Association, 1938, 1939, pp. 86, 88.) The following papers are included in these volumes: "The Persistent Personality of Lincoln" by Harold C. Jaquith, president of Illinois College; "My Recollections of Lincoln" by Charles Nagel, St. Louis;

"Abraham Lincoln, Commander-in-Chief" by John McAuley Palmer, brigadier general, U. S. A. (retired); "Let us have Faith that Right makes Might" by Evan A. Evans, presiding justice, U. S. circuit court of appeals, Chicago, Illinois.

*The Missing Chapter in the Life of Abraham Lincoln: A Number of Articles, Episodes, Photographs, Pen and Ink Sketches concerning the Life of Abraham Lincoln in Spencer County, Indiana, between 1816-1830 and 1844.* By BESS V. EHLMANN. Pen and Ink Sketches by Mary Lee Gabbert. (Chicago, Walter M. Hill, 1938, pp. xiv, 150, \$3.50.) Mrs. Ehrmann's book is one more proof of what most close students of Lincoln's life already know—namely, that many present residents of the state of Indiana resent the terms in which biographers have described the environment in which the Lincoln family lived from 1816 until its removal to Illinois in 1830. Mrs. Ehrmann points out that many men and women of education and culture lived within a fifty-mile radius of the Lincoln cabin and argues that the neighborhood must have been more stimulating to Lincoln and must have had more effect upon his ambition and character than most writers have conceded. Unfortunately, her book is principally argument and inference unsupported by evidence. PAUL M. ANGLE.

*Frémont, Pathmarker of the West.* By ALLAN NEVINS. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xiv, 649, \$5.00.) Few public men have received more favorable recognition in proportion to service rendered than John Charles Frémont. As an explorer he deserves all the attention given him. Mr. Nevins's subtitle, "Pathmarker of the West", is quite *apropos*. Differences of opinion have arisen largely from evaluation of his later career and interpretation of his character. To the defense of Frémont along both of these lines the author has brought all his newspaper technique and literary talent. There are certain admissions, however, which the reader will find tucked away in various parts of the volume. Frémont's career, Mr. Nevins says, sometimes revealed a "lack of candor and directness", a "consistent opportunism", and, on occasions, actual "equivocation" (p. 285). Apparently the explorer lacked "rugged strength of character". In discussing the conquest of California (p. 286), the author admits further that "it is impossible today to believe that he [Frémont] decisively affected the course of events on the Pacific" coast. Again, "Unquestionably, Lincoln did wisely in removing Frémont" (p. 543, referring to his dismissal from the army during the Civil War). "Frémont tried too often to reap where other men had sown" (p. 621). With all of which the reviewer agrees. But after reading this long narrative—a narrative which adds forty or fifty thousand words to his former two-volume life of Frémont, a narrative heavily padded with beautiful descriptions, picturesque settings, touching explanations, and fulsome apologies—it is easy to see that the author's admissions are made with reluctance and with reservation. To S. W. Kearny he does scant justice, but he makes Stockton something of a hero. The volume could have been made twice as interesting in half the space, and such a reduction would have been in keeping with the subject's place in history. It adds nothing to our knowledge of Frémont, but it is the best camouflage of the man that has appeared. CARDINAL GOODWIN.

*Thaddeus Stevens.* By ALPHONSE B. MILLER. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. xi, 440, \$4.00.) If it be assumed that the consequences of the Civil War and Reconstruction were beneficial, then it must be admitted that Thaddeus Stevens was a great statesman. For it is a matter of common knowledge (or at least belief) that Pennsylvania's "Old Thad", as leader of the Radical Republicans in the House of Representatives from 1861 to his death in 1868, virtually dictated the

legislative policies of the government. In the main, Mr. Miller's judgments are based upon the validity of the foregoing assumption. Within this frame of reference, he has written a readable but by no means brilliant biography. He brings to light no facts of consequence which are not found in the earlier biographies of McCall and Woodburn. Nor can it be said that his interpretations differ in any essential particulars from theirs. He is somewhat more aware of the existence of economic motives in the drama than they, but he dissociates himself from those historians who overemphasize a single motive. Stevens was procapitalist on such questions as the tariff and grants-in-aid to transcontinental railways but anticapitalist, or at least antifinancier, with respect to currency and banking. Since these contradictory attitudes left him, so to speak, paired with himself as to economic motivation, Mr. Miller finds in Stevens's political acumen and broad humanitarianism sufficient clues to an understanding of his motives. Of the former there can be no doubt; of the latter the candid reader must still question whether love of the lowly slave was not outweighed by hateful desire "to feed fat the ancient grudge" against the proud master. B. B. KENDRICK.

*The Road to Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Major Abner R. Small of the Sixteenth Maine Volunteers, together with the Diary which he kept when he was a Prisoner of War.* Edited by HAROLD ADAMS SMALL. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, pp. xiii, 314, \$3.50.) Beside the Civil War journal of Joseph LeConte (a Confederate), which he edited two years ago, Mr. Small now places the unusually interesting memoir and diary of his father, Major Small, of the Army of the Potomac. In his old age—and basing his narrative upon material he had collected in writing a regimental history of the Sixteenth Maine and upon sketches which, earlier still, he had prepared for newspapers—Major Small wrote chapters that the present editor has arranged into a continuous narrative and published in conjunction with the short diary that Major Small kept during the six months when he was a prisoner of war at Richmond, Danville, and Salisbury. While the memoir is vividly written—particularly with respect to the fighting at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg—and accurate to a degree, the fact that it was set down long after the close of the war, when fierce passions had largely abated, evidences itself in a philosophical tone and pervasive attitude of tolerance which could hardly have been present during the struggle itself. In contrast, the brief diary, covering some six months of prison life and written in short staccato entries, impressed this reviewer as far more authentic, particularly in its realistic discussion of the cost of food in debased Confederate currency, the treatment accorded prisoners by the Confederate authorities, and the indignities suffered at the hands of ruffians among the prisoners themselves. The text of this valuable, though minor, contribution to history is admirably edited except for the fact that the narrative part contains no marks of reference to the notes, which are carried at the back of the book, with the result that the interested reader finds himself continually instituting a search to discover whether some obscure comment or cryptical statement has been explained. Use of the volume is facilitated by an accurate and well-arranged index.

WIRT ARMISTEAD CATE.

*Helen Hunt Jackson (H. H.).* By RUTH ODELL. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xv, 326, \$3.00.) In the foreword to this volume Miss Odell expresses her desire to substitute biographical accuracy for the legends that have grown up around the author of *Ramona* and to replace inadequate sketches with a picture of the real Helen Hunt Jackson. One closes the book feeling that the first of these objectives has been more successfully achieved than the second. Although

much factual material is carefully presented, the human being described by Thomas Wentworth Higginson as "the most brilliant, impetuous, and thoroughly individual woman of her time" remains a somewhat shadowy figure. The first half of the biography tells in considerable detail the story of Mrs. Jackson's youth in the Amherst of the eighteen thirties, of her schooling in various academies, her first marriage to Edward Bissell Hunt, her life in Newport, her friendships, and her early literary attempts under the guidance of Colonel Higginson. The second half presents the more significant aspect of her career—her interest in the Western Indians, her quarrel with the government over its methods of dealing with them, and her writings on this subject, notably *A Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona*. In the pages of this biography devoted to Mrs. Jackson's travels in California interesting glimpses emerge of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara in the eighteen-eighties and of the ranches, schools, and missions that she visited. The connection of "H. H." with the leading American periodicals from 1865 to 1885 is clearly charted throughout the book, and her many contributions to the magazines and newspapers of her time are listed chronologically in the bibliography. This list supplies an interesting index to the popular taste of the period as revealed in magazine verse, short tale, serial, and travel sketch. The volume is elaborately documented with twenty pages of notes and sixty-five pages of bibliography.

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

*The United States since 1865.* By LOUIS M. HACKER, Columbia University, and BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK, The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Third edition. (New York, Crofts, 1939, pp. xxiv, 821, \$3.75.)

*A General History of the United States since 1865.* By GEORGE FREDERICK HOWE, Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, pp. xxvii, 654, \$4.50.)

*The Modern Movement in American Theology: Sketches in the History of American Protestant Thought from the Civil War to the World War.* By FRANK HUGH FOSTER. (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1939, pp. 219, \$1.75.) "This book takes up the story of the New England Theology where a previous volume by this writer left it. It is a collection of sketches rather than an attempt at a complete history."

*Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1923.* Two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. cxi, 973, cxix, 1283, \$1.25, \$2.00.) These most recent volumes of American diplomatic documents are a reminder that the World War left a good many problems unsolved, some of them seemingly insoluble. A few of the attempts at solution are here set forth. For example, there is a detailed description of the negotiations on reparations which followed Mr. Hughes's memorable address to the American Historical Association at New Haven and culminated in the appointment of the Dawes Commission. There is also a long and exceedingly valuable account of the Lausanne Conference, which led not only to a European settlement with Turkey but to a Turko-American treaty (subsequently rejected by the Senate). Along with the corresponding British and French publications, these documents form a reasonably complete picture of the manner in which a durable Near Eastern peace was made. More than one third of Volume I deals with disturbed conditions in China and the efforts of the Western powers to maintain their interests against a rising Chinese nationalism. The same volume reveals how Mr. Hughes at last came to recognize the League of Nations and to correspond freely with it, at least on nonpolitical questions. As to Russia,

however, the record was one of continued refusal to recognize the Soviet regime. In the economic field Mr. Hughes continued his vigorous defense of American interests, not all of indisputable national concern. And there is a variety of topics from relief activities to Pan-American Conferences to delight any student of international affairs. The high scholarly standards of the editor and the excellent typography and binding continue to be features of this increasingly important series.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

*Carter Glass: A Biography.* By RIXEY SMITH and NORMAN BEASLEY. With an Introduction by Senator Harry Flood Byrd and a Preface by Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. xv, 519, \$3.00.) Printer's devil, reporter, editor, and newspaper owner, delegate to the Democratic National Convention, state senator, member of the Virginia constitutional convention, member of the Federal House of Representatives, Secretary of the Treasury, United States senator—steadily Carter Glass moved from one post to the next by sheer force of ability and uncompromising integrity. The story is interestingly told by Rixey Smith, who has been Mr. Glass's secretary for seventeen years, and Norman Beasley. The files of the Treasury and the personal correspondence of Mr. Glass have been utilized, and some interesting behind-the-scenes events have been disclosed. The authors do not conceal their admiration for their subject, but they show forth his greatness by reciting his acts and speeches rather than by fulsome praise. Now and then, however, journalism prevails over accuracy, as in the claim for the authorship of the Federal Reserve Act and in an occasional exaggeration. Twice the name of Stockton Axson, the brother-in-law of President Wilson, is misspelled. A single quotation from Mr. Glass, of especial interest just now, may be quoted. As Secretary of the Treasury he wrote: "Let us remember that there can be no spending by the Government without paying by the Government, and that the Government cannot pay except out of the pockets of the people". The most valuable contributions of this volume are the revelations of the intrigues by which representatives of banking interests attempted to block the Federal Reserve Act, of Roosevelt's shifting position on money and banking, and of Mr. Glass's unflinching courage in opposing court packing, the "purge" in Virginia, and other vagaries of the New Deal. "Perhaps", exclaimed Mr. Glass, "I am a relic of constitutional government!" This fittingly characterizes his attitude throughout forty years of public life.

E. L. BOGART.

*Selected Papers of Homer Cummings, Attorney General of the United States, 1933-1939.* Edited by CARL BRENT SWISHER. (New York, Scribner's, 1939, pp. xxvi, 316, \$3.50.) "This volume of selected papers of the man who was Attorney General from 1933 to 1939 is chosen from a number of sources and types of materials. . . . It suggests the value of a more extended collection . . . and the value of similar collections of the papers of other statesmen of the period".

*The Negro, Too, in American History.* By MERL R. EPPSE, Tennessee A. and I. College. (Nashville, National Educational Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xxii, 544, \$3.00.)

*The Black Man in White America.* By JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN, Hobart College. (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1938, pp. 338, \$3.25.) The first of these two volumes is an effort to supply a guide for those who are trying to correlate the study of the Negro in the United States with that of general American history. It is, however, *prima facie* evidence that the author's equipment is decidedly inadequate, for he shows neither a knowledge of history in general nor of the history of the Negro in particular, nor does he distinguish, in his selection of



the facts set forth, between the important and the unimportant. *The Black Man in White America* is an undertaking in the same field but written from a different point of view. The author aims to discuss frankly the shortcomings of both races in the United States and at the same time to make known the worthwhile achievements of the Negro. Unfortunately he does not deal scientifically with all the problems involved. Some of his data with respect to education, health, labor, crime, discrimination, and the like are incorrect, incomplete, or out of date, for example, in the case of tests and measurements. On the basis of this inadequate information the author makes some sweeping generalizations which neither he nor anyone else has substantiated. On the whole, however, the book is an important contribution and renders the service of treating the Negro historically as a human being. It gives a striking picture of a neglected phase of an important social problem and presents the matter in readable form.

CARTER G. WOODSON.

*The American Race Problem: A Study of the Negro.* By EDWARD BYRON REUTER. Revised edition. (New York, Crowell, 1938, pp. xiii, 430, \$3.00.) There is a vast literature on the American Negro but few systematic treatises. Among the latter this work of Reuter's has held high rank since the publication of the first edition in 1927. The new edition is basically the same as the first in arrangement, viewpoint, and even in content. In many chapters the changes have been limited to a few words here and there. One new chapter has been added and one of the old ones expanded into two. In the places where statistical material is presented this has been reorganized and brought down to more recent dates. The work covers a wide range of topics, and the general viewpoint is that the Negro problem is sociological rather than biological. The role of prejudice is repeatedly emphasized, though the author is by no means hopeful that this will diminish in the population at large. Reuter discounts the evidences of the mental inferiority of the Negro, perhaps excessively, but one must approve his general conclusion that for all practical purposes equality of treatment is the wisest policy in a democracy. Race relations seem as likely to get worse as to get better. The author sees no solution until complete amalgamation has occurred—which takes us forward at least one millenium.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society.* Number 20, *Papers read before the Society, November 18, 1938.* (Honolulu, Hawaiian Historical Society, 1939, pp. 113.) The paper by John F. G. Stokes, "Hawaii's Discovery by Spaniards: Theories traced and Refuted" (pp. 38-113), should be noted.

#### ARTICLES

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

*A Description of the Manuscript Collections in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library.* (Boston, Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., 1939, pp. 81.) This is representative of the undertaking inaugurated late in 1937 to survey historical source materials other than public records. The manuscripts were listed principally by Edith Richards and edited, compiled, and indexed by Ethel L. Wood and Cora F. Holbrook, under the direction of Kelsey B. Sweatt, all with the particular assistance of Margaret S. Elliott, editor in chief of manuscripts and inventories. Carl J. Wennerblad, state director, writes a preface, and Ann Maria Mitchell, parish historian, Church of the Advent, Boston, contributes a brief history of the Massachusetts Diocesan Library. The diocese of Massachusetts was organized in 1784, although the first bishop, Edward Bass, was not consecrated until 1797. The papers of Bishop Bass begin, however, with 1754 and extend to 1803, while numerous papers of his successor, Samuel Parker, antedate by many years his succession to the bishopric. Besides the papers of the bishops and diocesan records proper there are many papers of the eleven Episcopal churches in Boston and of other Episcopal churches—in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere. In general the papers are described with such particularity as to give a fairly comprehensive idea of their contents.

*The Swedes and Finns in New Jersey.* By the Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey. With an Introduction by Dr. Amandus Johnson. [American Guide Series.] (Trenton, New Jersey Commission to commemorate the 300th Anniversary of the Settlement by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware, 1938, pp. 165, \$1.00.) This work is one of several publications inspired by the tercentenary celebration in 1938 of the founding of the colony of New Sweden at Fort Christina on the site of the present-day Wilmington in the state of Delaware. Although all settlements in the colony before its conquest by the Dutch in 1655, with the exception of Fort Elfsborg (built in 1643 and abandoned in 1651), were made on the west side of the Delaware River in what are now the states of Delaware and Pennsylvania, Swedes and Finns began to migrate to the eastern shore of the river at about the time of the end of Dutch rule and the establishment of English rule in the Delaware Valley in 1664, and the present book is largely an account of this later development. Of particular interest is the story of the founding and growth of several Swedish Lutheran parishes and missions, such as Trinity Parish at Swedesboro and St. George Parish at Penns Neck, and of the agricultural activities of the Swedish and Finnish pioneers along such streams as the Big Timber, Mantua, Repaupo, Raccoon, Oldmans, and Salem creeks and Maurice River. GEORGE H. RYDEN.

*The Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck, 1713-1786.* By the Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey. With an Introduction and Notes by Dr. Amandus Johnson. [American Guide Series.] (Trenton, Commissioner of Finance, State House, 1938, pp. 387, \$2.00.) These parish records, "the earliest Church Records from this section of the Delaware Valley", provide interesting glimpses of many aspects of the life of the time beyond those strictly ecclesiastical. There is a comprehensive fifty-page index.

*Jacob A. Riis, Police Reporter, Reformer, Useful Citizen.* By LOUISE WARE, Instructor in Sociology and Director of Social Work, Adelphi College. Introduction by Allan Nevins. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. xxii, 335, \$3.00.) This is a careful and well-documented biography, descriptive rather than interpretative.

*The Brandeis Way: A Case Study in the Workings of Democracy.* By ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 336, \$3.00.) An analysis of the "philosophic, functional and institutional implications of Massachusetts savings bank life insurance in terms of the democratic process".

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

*The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina.* By ALBERT RAY NEWSOME. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. vi, 202, \$1.25.) The presidential

campaign of 1824 and the ensuing election marked the close of an era in personalities and political methods and objectives. Dr. Newsome presents the issues and personalities against a North Carolina background. He shows why and how this state—backward in economic development, slighted by nature, and under the political dominance of Virginia—secured political emancipation and began to lay those foundations for trade and industry that have made it one of the important Southern states. He examines the distribution of the voters in the election of 1824 and shows what was back of the economic and social developments and what caused the “democratic upsurge which repudiated political methods and leadership well-entrenched by a generation of dominance”. Clay had little support in North Carolina; the attitude towards Adams was lukewarm; the contest narrowed to one between Calhoun or Jackson on the one hand and Crawford on the other. The voters were urged to make their choice of parties, men, and measures. Two useful maps show how the poor man supported Jackson, while the conservative slaveholder supported Crawford and the status quo. Footnotes are used throughout the text, and there is an extended bibliography and a good index. This study is one of several recent publications bearing on this important campaign. No one seeking an understanding of the background and issues and of the beginnings of the ensuing political, economic, and social struggles and controversies can afford to neglect a careful reading of this important contribution to the history of the period.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

*The Other Half of Old New Orleans.* Collected and edited by E. MERTON COULTER, the University of Georgia. (University, Louisiana State University Press, 1939, pp. 108, \$2.00.) Sketches of characters and incidents from the recorder's court of New Orleans in the 1840's as they appeared in the *Picayune*.

*35,000 Days in Texas: A History of the Dallas News and its Forebears.* By SAM ACHESON. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 337, \$2.50.) Mr. Acheson, an editorial writer on the *Dallas News*, has attempted to do two things at once: write a biography of his paper and review the history of Texas since 1842, the year in which the parent paper, the *Galveston Daily News*, was founded. The result is somewhat less than satisfactory. The method is a handicap, for it usually means a somewhat confusing account. Using the files of the *News* as his principal and almost only source, the author presents his story of the *News* and Texas in chronological order and panoramic style. The reader gets some notion of what the files contain, what attachments or loyalties the paper developed, and what some of the matters were that made news. One is introduced to the journalistic pioneer and adventurer, Samuel Bangs, who founded the *News* at Galveston; to Willard Richardson, under whose guidance, it is claimed, the *News* became “the most widely circulated, the wealthiest, and most influential paper in Texas”; to Colonel Alfred H. Belo, the ex-Confederate North Carolinian, who at the end of the war bought the Richardson interests and directed the paper to the close of the century; and to the Dealeys, who have dominated the paper since then. But one does not derive a very sharp picture of these men, nor is one convinced that “the story of *The News* is the story of Texas”, as the author proclaims. This independent Democratic paper, which the late Adolph Ochs took as the inspiration for his model of the *New York Times*, should probably stand out a little more impressively in its biography; but perhaps Mr. Acheson should be commended for showing more restraint than is exercised by some other journalists when writing about their own papers. The history of the *News* was well worth writing.

CULVER H. SMITH.

*Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894.* By JOHN FRANKLIN CROWELL, President of the College during that Period. With a Preface by Charles L. Raper. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 280, \$3.00.)

*Caldwell and Company: A Southern Financial Empire.* By JOHN BERRY McFERRIN, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Florida. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. x, 284, \$3.50.) This volume is an excellent example of what this reviewer considers the present trend toward an unduly regional approach to American economic problems. It cannot be denied that emphasis on the existence of large geographical areas having similar economic interests is a useful concept, but it is deplorable that this idea often leads to a revival of sectionalism and to the neglect of problems which can be solved only by a truly national approach. Among these latter, surely, must be counted matters of financial practice. The book is a study of the rise and fall of a financial firm operating in the South. Caldwell and Company was an almost perfect microcosm of the malpractices of the postwar period up to the depression; but instead of treating it as such, the author has chosen to lay his emphasis on the accidental fact that it was a Southern firm. Rogers Caldwell's concern was with making money, not with solving the economic problems of the South. His time and temperament were such that he would have been a scoundrel wherever he lived and operated, and the fact that he happened to live in Nashville throws no light whatever on the peculiar ills to which the South is heir. These things being true, Mr. McFerrin's book is an exasperation. His industry has been considerable, his data abundant and well-arranged, but his perspective is sadly skewed, and his judgments so timorous as to be worthless. The time has gone when it was disreputable for a scholar, particularly in the social sciences, to render judgments on the material which he has examined. We have, in fact, approached the time when it is possible to dismiss a fact-accumulation such as Mr. McFerrin's as useless without a more penetrating relation to a wider subject.

LOUISE PEARSON MITCHELL.

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

*George Croghan's Journal of his Trip to Detroit in 1767, with his Correspondence relating thereto, now published for the First Time from the Papers of General Thomas Gage in the William L. Clements Library.* Edited by HOWARD H. PECKHAM. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1939, pp. vii, 61, \$1.25.) This exquisite small volume reflects the highest standards in editing and book-making. The newly found documents here published deal with westward expansion by the English, Indian life, British Indian policy, Fort Pitt, Detroit, and the Ohio Valley in general. Many readers will wish that all of the hitherto unpublished Croghan letters in the Clements Library, listed in the appendix, had been included. In 1767 General Gage and Sir William Johnson joined in dispatching the latter's deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, George Croghan, over wilderness trails to Detroit. He was to investigate Indian unrest, examine complaints against the commissary at Detroit, restore two Chippewa prisoners to their tribe, and assist in removing Major Robert Rogers from the command at Michilimackinac. The journal here printed is the copy sent to Gage and gives an account of Croghan's overland journey to Detroit, via Fort Pitt, and return. Croghan's numerous letters and diaries have long been a major source of information for the westward movement of the Anglo-Saxon into the Ohio country between 1740 and 1780. To him increasing attention is being given both by



historians and by such writers of historical fiction as Mead Minnegerode and Louis Zara. The publication of a new Croghan journal and letters will, therefore, be welcome.

A. T. VOLWILER.

*Outpost of Empire: The Story of the Founding of San Francisco.* By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, University of California. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xxi, 332, xvii, \$2.75.) A second printing of a work published in 1931.

*Pueblo Indian Land Grants of the "Rio Abajo", New Mexico.* By HERBERT O. BRAYER. [The University of New Mexico Bulletin.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1939, pp. 135, \$1.00, cloth bound \$2.00.) The long-continued process of reducing the Indian reservations and the numerous controversies over the confirmation of private land claims are phases of public land policy which have received little attention, doubtless because their story is the most difficult to trace. Professor Brayer has undertaken a study of the Pueblo Indian land grants of New Mexico which gives an insight into both of these subjects. He traces the governments' attitudes toward Indian citizenship and the right of alienating land through the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods of control of New Mexico and follows through the maze of controversies over titles in the valley of the Rio Grande between Pueblo Indian claimants fighting among themselves and with white claimants for choice locations. The legal controversies are well handled, but one could wish for more information on the non-Indian claimants who seem to have had so much influence in the courts and with the New Mexico congressmen. The present booklet deals with the grants of the "Rio Abajo", and another is promised for the grants of the "Rio Arriba". It is in the accumulation of local studies of this character that one finds promise for a complete treatment of American land history.

PAUL WALLACE GATES.

*Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1828.* By NIELS HENRY SONNE. [The Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. viii, 286, \$3.00.) This anti-Presbyterian polemic, in its "cultural" guise, sets forth "that series of critical events by which the accepted position of the people of Kentucky with regard to religious liberty was altered from the religious liberalism of 1780-1820 to the Protestant orthodoxy of the period subsequent to 1830" (p. 9), "the change by which Protestant orthodoxy came to dominate education and to make it impossible that any person of liberal or unorthodox sentiment should have control over the minds of youth". The author furnishes his own definition of a "liberal" as follows: "When we employ the term 'liberals', it will designate those whom the Presbyterians and other 'orthodox' Christians, in strict conformity with their theological traditions called 'infidels' " (p. 23). The narrative centers rather largely in the career of President Horace Holley at Transylvania University, from 1818 to 1827, for Mr. Sonne holds that as a consequence of Holley's defeat as president in 1827, "the ideal of a great central state university, open to all religious denominations, and conducted on liberal [please bear in mind the author's definition of this word] principles, had been effectively quashed. . . . The passage of years saw Kentucky becoming increasingly an orthodox Christian state, after the manner conceived by the Presbyterian opponents of the War of 1812" (pp. 260-61). The reviewer sees little of cultural value in so biased an anti-Presbyterian tract; he has never regarded either Kentucky or Presbyterianism as the antitheses of true liberalism, and he does not find that this study has proved them to be such.

E. F. HUMPHREY.

*The Moravian Indian Mission on White River: Diaries and Letters, May 5, 1799, to November 12, 1806.* Translated from the German of the Original Manuscript by HARRY E. STOCKER, HERMAN T. FRUEAUFF, and SAMUEL C. ZELLER. Edited by



LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. [Indiana Historical Collections.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938, pp. xv, 674, \$2.00.) This book contains a record of the daily happenings of two Moravian missionaries, Abraham Luckenbach and John Peter Kluge, in their efforts to Christianize the Delaware Indians on White River in the central part of what is now Indiana. These diaries are meticulously written by Kluge, recalling the form of Zeisberger's Diary but lacking his discerning and philosophical comments. They furnish a rare and authentic picture of everyday life in Indiana's wilderness, through which move Indians, traders, and occasional travelers. The dress, customs, and characteristics of the Indians of this period are minutely described with repeated emphasis upon the degradation of the race due to the trade in whiskey. The weather, agricultural pursuits, the difficulties in obtaining proper food, methods of travel and of hunting, building of cabins, and many other activities receive comments that are too liberally interspersed with pious reflections and personal references for the ready use of the researcher. The diaries unabridged, however, were kept for the archives of the church. While obviously discouraged by the hopelessness of their task, these missionaries carried on until the evil-minded Tenskwatawa, better known as the Prophet (brother of Tecumseh), came to reside among the Delawares, finally inciting them to the bloody crusade against witchcraft in March, 1806. This was the major cause of the abandonment of the mission. The statement of Jefferson to Harrison in 1802 that the Indians must become civilized or remove beyond the Mississippi was prophetic. If these diarists had possessed greater powers of observation and some imagination, this record would have for Indiana a value comparable to Zeisberger's Diary for Ohio. This lack is, in a measure, remedied by capable editing and a helpful index which make it available source material.

CHARLES N. THOMPSON.

*The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America.* By LEWIS E. ATHERTON. (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1939, pp. 135, \$1.25.) This study is a demonstration for Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri of the fact that "the merchant was an integral part of frontier life and a strong force in transforming the primitive economy that prevailed". As his ample footnotes and bibliography attest, the author has ransacked the available source material, relying especially on newspapers and scores of mercantile records including account books, ledgers, business letter books, and contract collections. Although much obvious factual material not requiring documentary demonstration is presented, one catches many a glimpse of organic social process. The origin of the use of bills of exchange takes on the quality of flesh and blood transactions; storekeepers develop regular systems for disposing of the farm produce they have to accept; remittances are concealed in kegheads or in the form of bisected banknotes in two separate mails; the Erie Canal has the effect of increasing the sturdiness and general efficiency of Conestoga wagons; goods ordered by mail are poorly selected or run aground on the Ohio because of inattention to problems of navigation or forwarding, and so merchants learn to make their orders in person and to accompany the goods in transit. All of this is welcome grist for the social historian who wants more body to his product. It seems odd to the reviewer, however, that there is not a word about the place of the merchant in the intricate pattern of the buying and selling of land. And why must our "service" minded historians take the unphilosophical approach to their personality subjects implied in the remark, "If the merchant had been satisfied to stop with this service the West would have taken a much longer period to reach economic maturity"?

RANDOLPH C. DOWNES.

*World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study.* By HAROLD D. LASSWELL and DOROTHY BLUMENSTOCK. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xii, 393, xii, \$4.50.) "This investigation was undertaken as a means of evaluating the future prospects of Communism. . . . We decided that a case study of Chicago would usefully supplement available data".

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## LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

*List of Books printed, 1601-1700, in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America.* By CLARA LOUISA PENNEY. With Appendices: I, Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century Books not included in *List of Books printed before 1601* (New York, 1929); II, Check List of Printing Sites and Printers of Hispanic Books, 1468?-1700. (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1938, pp. xxvi, 972, \$2.00.)

*II° Congreso Internacional de Historia de America* (July 5-14, 1937). Six volumes. (Buenos Aires, Academia nacional de la historia, 1938, pp. 567, 623, 713, 743, 555, 486.) These volumes, issued under the editorship of Dr. Ricardo Levene, president of the Academia nacional de la historia, record the work of the Second International Congress of the History of America, held in Buenos Aires. The first volume contains an account of the organization of the congress, the text of the addresses and papers presented in the sessions, minutes of the sessions, and resolutions of the congress. In Volumes II to V inclusive the papers which were submitted to the congress in various fields of history are printed together with their summaries which were prepared and read in the sessions. A translation into Spanish of Dr. W. S. Robertson's *Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929) forms Volume VI.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

*Latin America: A Brief History.* By F. A. KIRKPATRICK. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xi, 456, \$3.75 or \$2.80.) Less comprehensive than most histories in the field written by Americans, this volume by an Irish scholar is largely devoted to political matters. It gives special attention to the part played by England in the region southeast of the Río Grande, an emphasis which makes a contribution since manuscript British foreign office records were drawn upon. In treating the relations of the United States with Latin America, Mr. Kirkpatrick goes further towards justifying the American government's actions than most recent American writers have ventured to do. This seems to be caused partly by politeness as well as by sympathy with British ideas as to "the white man's burden". But it appears in some cases to come from lack of historical knowledge, for the work as a whole betrays the need of more background, even though in some fields wide reading is apparent. This weakness is also shown by the uncritical handling of some of the bibliographical material. Furthermore, though this is primarily a political history, the author has omitted consideration of some major political events and has treated others too allusively, while valuable space is devoted needlessly to the goings and comings of armies and to the number of men on each side in the almost countless battles of the Latin-American countries. The wrong form is used for the names of various Latin Americans. Though the presentation is at times inadequate, the book seems notably free from factual errors. It is also readable and is fair in

its treatment of controversial matters, such as questions involving the Catholic Church. There are eleven helpful maps and three portraits.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

*Historia documentada de los movimientos revolucionarios por la independencia de Cuba de 1852 a 1867.* By DIEGO GONZÁLEZ. Two volumes. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno., 1939, pp. xviii, 178, ix, 297.) Dr. González has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the many revolutionary movements in Cuba during the years from 1852 to 1867. As a background, a résumé is given of the various independence movements on the island from the invasion of Spain by Napoleon through the expeditions of Narciso López. The influence of an independent South America, the Panama Congress, the message of President Monroe in 1823, and the internal and external annexation movements are also noted. In Volume I the author discusses in detail such topics as the Cuban Junta in New York, the expedition of Francisco Estrampes, the conspiracy of Ramón Pintó, the era of despotic peace, the reform epoch, and the events leading to the outbreak of the terrible Ten Years' War. While emphasis is given to revolutionary movements and to the personality and fate of their leaders, Spanish colonial administration and administrators are not neglected. Volume II contains sixty-eight documents, largely from the Archivo nacional, which are appendixes for chapters five through fourteen of Volume I. This study is written in a straightforward but sympathetic manner. It is perhaps too early to expect a Cuban to present the Spanish side of the revolutionary movements. The author has made extensive use of source materials and the writings of Vidal Morales, Joaquín Llaverías, and other leading historians. Extensive footnotes are given, but several of the citations are indefinite. There are nineteen illustrations and a bibliography, but unfortunately there is no index. This is the best work available on the subject, and scholars will congratulate Dr. Diego González on a task well done.

DAVID A. LOCKMILLER.

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## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

A list of members of the Association, with some note of their professional connections and interests when data on these have been supplied, is published as a supplement to this issue of the *Review*. The list has been prepared by Professor Conyers Read, the Executive Secretary of the Association. Its publication has been made possible by the generous co-operation of the Macmillan Company.

A list of doctoral dissertations in history now in progress, similar to the lists formerly published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, will be published as a supplement to the *Review* for April, 1940. The Carnegie Institution has found it necessary to discontinue this publication but has made a generous contribution to the preparation of the lists for this year and next year. The list is being edited by the Executive Secretary. It will include doctoral dissertations in Canada as well as in the United States, and it will contain a supplementary list showing other research projects in history in progress similar to that published as a supplement to the April, 1934, issue of the *Review*.

Copies of both lists will be sent gratis with the *Review* to all members of the Association. Additional copies may be purchased by members and by nonmembers at \$2.00 a copy through the offices of the Association in Washington.

### OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress announces the gift by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson of the Papers of President Wilson. The greater part of the collection proceeds from the eight momentous years of Mr. Wilson's presidency, but there are also abundant materials bearing upon his earlier career as scholar, university administrator, and governor of New Jersey. A description of the papers is to be found in the introduction to the first volume of Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*. For the present the collection is closed to investigators pending the completion of a preliminary arrangement; due notice will be given of its being made generally accessible. The library is also indebted to Mrs. Wilson for the services of Miss Katharine E. Brand, long the associate of Mr. Baker, who acts as special custodian. Among other recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts the following may be noted: photostat of the fifteenth century Winthrop Alchemical Manuscript; photostats of ninety-eight papers



pertaining mainly to transfers of stock in the South Sea Company, 1712 to 1753; typewritten copy of a paper relating to the authorship of "The Trader's, or Pattin's map" of "the Ohio country before 1753" by Howard N. Eavenson; an addition to the papers of the Shippen family, consisting of five folders of letters and a letter book, 1756-1867; photostats of twenty letters addressed to Jeremiah Evarts, 1784-1831; photostats of the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; seventeen boxes of papers of the Gibson, McClure, and Getty families, including papers of Colonel George Gibson (1747-91), his son, Judge John Bannister Gibson (1780-1853), Charles McClure (died 1902, chief paymaster, U. S. A.), and Major-General George Washington Getty (1819-1901); three boxes of photostats of papers of Elbridge Gerry, 1772-1814; photostats of thirteen papers of the Alexander and Graham families, 1814-61, including two letters by Andrew Jackson, September 29, 1819, and December 13, 1828; photostats of twenty-three letters from Thomas Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, 1804-25; eight letters addressed to John Crafts Wright, jurist and representative from Ohio, 1822-28; photostats of nine letters of John L. Williams, jr., American soldier, to members of his family, dated at camps in Mexico and elsewhere, 1846, 1847, and 1862; several additional papers of Admiral Charles Wilkes, 1847-71; nine papers of and relating to William Gregg, developer of Southern cotton manufacture, 1853-1927; twenty-nine boxes and four volumes of papers of William Maxwell Evarts, 1859-1900; 275 papers of Captain John Rumsey Brincklé, U. S. A., supplemental to the Rumsey family papers, 1859-1936; a large collection of papers of José Ignacio Rodríguez (Cuban-American lawyer and author), 1870-1907; 124 boxes of papers of John Barrett (American journalist and diplomat), 1885-1932; the Gustave P. Wiksell collection of 361 manuscripts and printed papers and newspaper clippings relating to Walt Whitman (chiefly to the "Walt Whitman Fellowship: International") and letters from Horace Traubel to Gustave P. Wiksell, 1894-1939; seventy-nine additional papers of President Benjamin Harrison, 1897-99; fourteen boxes and thirteen volumes of papers from the White House files (drafts of messages, addresses, etc.) of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson; twenty-five letters from Theodore Roosevelt to William Roscoe Thayer, 1901-18; additional papers of Chandler P. Anderson; Charles S. Lobingier, correspondence regarding votes on constitutional amendments and referenda, 1937-39; "Remarks of Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, on the Occasion of the Dedication of The Hispanic Room in The Library of Congress, October 12, 1939" (original press release).

The Lincoln Cathedral copy of Magna Carta, recently on exhibition in the British Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, has been deposited for temporary safekeeping in the Library of Congress. It may be seen in the

Main Exhibit Hall, second floor, opposite the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

The National Archives has made available to its employees in-service training courses in correspondence and report writing, Federal administrative history, and the history and administration of archives. The last-mentioned course is given in co-operation with the American University and is under the joint direction of Solon J. Buck and Ernst Posner. Dr. Posner was formerly on the staff of the Prussian Geheime Staatsarchiv at Berlin-Dahlem and is now a lecturer at the American University.

Among records of the Veterans' Administration in the National Archives are two pension-case files containing Lincolniana. The first relates to Mrs. Lincoln and includes her own declaration for a widow's pension and several letters written by her son, Robert Todd Lincoln. The second contains documents concerning John S. Staples, who served as a representative recruit for Abraham Lincoln in the Union Army and has often been erroneously referred to as Lincoln's substitute.

Materials relating to the history of the Army and Navy of the United States recently received by the National Archives include most of the records of the Office of the Surgeon General of the Army to July 1, 1894, and some groups to later dates; records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy pertaining to the proceedings of examining and retiring boards, 1860-1939, of general courts martial, 1866-1916, and of courts of inquiry and boards of investigation, 1866-1916; and numerous journals of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and other members of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-42. The Wilkes journals cover the entire period of the expedition; the others cover different portions thereof.

Other recent accessions of the National Archives include correspondence and accounting records of the National Bank Redemption Agency, 1875-1918; records of the former War Department Bureau of Insular Affairs relative to Puerto Rico, 1899-1914, and of the Secretary of the Interior relative to various territories and insular possessions of the United States, 1907-30; manuscript reports on cost and price studies conducted by the Office of Farm Management, 1910-24; records of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation concerning the emergency cattle buying program of 1934-35; records from the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, including applications of owners for official numbers for their vessels, 1867-1917, correspondence of the Office of the Supervising Inspector General of the Steamboat Inspection Service, 1905-23, and files concerning the international conferences on safety of life at sea held in 1913-14 and 1929 and the United States Load Line Committee and the International Load Line Convention of 1930, 1913-33; minutes and other records of the Food Purchase Board, 1917-19; and the files of the joint committee that investigated the Tennessee Valley Authority during the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Congresses.

Of exceptional importance among the recent accessions of the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library are the highly valuable House of Delegates Papers, 1776-1864. These papers consist of original bills and amendments, resolutions, petitions, a few committee reports, and some miscellaneous material. A small but interesting collection of the original ordinances of the Convention of May, 1776, is to be found in the papers, and a group of intercepted letters, 1775, forms additional vital material. These intercepted letters were seized from persons suspected of loyalist leanings and apparently were used as evidence by the committee of safety and the convention. The letters contain a vast amount of interesting information about the Revolutionary period and in particular as to the economic effects of severance with the mother country, for many of the letters were written by merchants of the Norfolk area. Among the papers of the House of Delegates proper there are many historically important items. Many of the bills of the 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1782 sessions are in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson. One of the most interesting of these is Jefferson's draft of the bill to abolish entails. This bill marked the beginning of Jefferson's legislative program in the House of Delegates for the reform of Virginia. Besides the many bills in the handwriting of Jefferson, other bills are identified as having been written by Patrick Henry, James Madison, George Mason, and others. During a later period also many of the bills were written by eminent and notable Virginians. A number of valuable petitions are scattered throughout the papers; those pertaining to religious freedom are of especial importance. Throughout the collection will be found many rare Virginia imprints. Some of these, such as the early printed bills, have been known only through the vouchers ordering their printing, and no copy has been seen. There are also a few imprints of the period of the Confederacy, of which the only known copies are in the Boston Athenaeum.

The Department of State has announced in a departmental order dated June 19, 1939, that its confidential or unpublished records prior to December 31, 1918, or such subsequent date as may be fixed by the department, "may be made available to persons who are not officials of the United States Government" subject to certain stated conditions. Permission to consult the records through the date fixed may be granted "to such persons as lawyers, publicists, historians, instructors, and professors in accredited colleges and universities, and holders of the doctor's degree (or its equivalent) in foreign relations or allied subjects from such colleges and universities, provided that they are authorities of recognized standing in the field to which the records relate and that they have an important and definite use for the information desired". The records of the department prior to August, 1906, are in the National Archives and are open to inspection there.

On August 31 the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration was terminated as a single nation-wide project and was replaced

by a series of locally sponsored projects, technical control over which was retained by Dr. Luther H. Evans as national director and by a group sponsored by the Library of Congress, which is to offer technical assistance.

The War Documentation Service has been organized under the sponsorship of the Union Library Catalogue, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Bibliographical Planning Committee of Philadelphia, with Richard Heindel of the department of history of the University of Pennsylvania as director. The W. D. S. "will keep a continuous record of sources of information on European affairs broadly interpreted (since September, 1938) in the form of a master card file index to books, government documents, pamphlets (official and otherwise), posters, prints, cartoons, maps, special periodicals, newspapers and magazines (foreign and domestic), films, radio broadcasts, research activities, and so forth. In addition the file will show where in Philadelphia the information recorded may be consulted".

A mass of manuscript material in the Archivio di Stato in Turin dealing with the relations between England and Savoy from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century has recently been revealed in a note by C. H. Garrett and M. R. Toynbee in the *London Times Literary Supplement* for September 16, 1939, page 544. The material is particularly valuable for the Tudor and the Stuart periods.

A special institute dealing with the history and fine arts of China and Japan will be held in connection with the 1940 Summer School of Harvard University under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Those interested should communicate with Dr. John K. Fairbank, 41 Winthrop Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The National Library of Peiping and the National Southwestern Union University located at Kunming, Yunnan, China, announce that the task begun several years ago of collating various extant manuscripts of the *Ming Shih Lu*, one of the principal basic sources for the history of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), preparatory to publication, is making satisfactory progress. It is hoped to have the printing of the whole collection completed this spring.

Since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese conflict over two years ago some forty of China's leading educational and cultural institutions have suffered a total loss of more than 15,000,000 books, rare prints, and manuscripts as well as ancient wood printing blocks. In order to help those institutions that have resumed activity in "free" China to rebuild their libraries there was formed early in 1939 the Chinese Cultural Emergency Committee for the Solicitation of Books and Periodicals. The committee is making an appeal to individuals and institutions in the West, especially for college and school textbooks, reference works, and periodicals. The Committee on International

Relations of the American Library Association has worked out a plan whereby those wishing to send books need only to ship them prepaid to the International Exchange Service, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Shipments should be packed to withstand reshipment abroad, and no one box should weigh more than three hundred pounds. A letter stating that the shipment is for the Bureau of International Exchange, Kunming, Yunnan, China, should be sent at the same time.

Announcement has been made of the establishment of a new journal, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, the first issue of which is scheduled to appear in the summer or early fall of 1940. It is planned to publish materials relating to history, government, law, diplomatic and cultural relationships, economics, sociology, geography, and biography. Hugh Borton, Cyrus H. Peake, and Earl H. Pritchard are the managing editors. Communications should be addressed to the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 206 Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

The October issue of the *English Historical Review* carries an announcement that present circumstances may make it necessary to suspend publication. If this should prove unavoidable, "the Publishers would intend to resume publication of the Review at the end of the war".

The trustees of the Hayes Foundation are prepared to make grants-in-aid to students to assist them in carrying on historical studies in the period from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War. Applications will be considered only from persons of requisite training and experience who have already made substantial progress in the research for which the grant is needed. Grants may supplement university research funds or other sources of aid, and application should first be made to these other agencies. Inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Curtis W. Garrison, secretary of the Committee on Grants of the Hayes Foundation, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

In connection with the completion of Lorado Taft's memorial depicting Washington, Robert Morris, and Haym Salomon, to be erected in Chicago, the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago is interested in unpublished material to be used in the preparation of an account of Salomon's life. The Patriotic Foundation will be grateful to any of our readers who may be in possession of material on Salomon if they will communicate with them (33 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois).

#### PERSONAL

Vicomte Georges d'Avenel died on February 7 in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He is best known for his *Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires, des denrées, et de tous les prix en général de l'an 1200 à l'an 1800* (1894-98).

Dr. James Pounder Whitney, Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge University, died on June 17 at the age of 81. A son of the Reverend T. Whitney, vicar of Marsden, Huddersfield, he was educated at Owens College, Manchester, and King's College, Cambridge. He was rector of Milton, 1895-1900, principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Canada, 1900-1905, professor of ecclesiastical history, King's College, London, 1908-18, and professor of ecclesiastical history, Cambridge University, from 1919 to his death. In 1907, under the title of *The Reformation*, he published an outline of the history of the church from 1503 to 1648, and he contributed the chapter on "The Helvetic Reformation" to the second volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*. He was one of the editors of the first three volumes of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, to which he contributed a chapter on "The Conversion of the Teutons". He also published short studies of "The Literature of the Reformation" and "The Episcopate and the Reformation". His work, while sound and scholarly, was somewhat narrowly limited by a purely religious interest.

John Martin Vincent, professor of European History in the Johns Hopkins University from 1905 to 1925, died at La Jolla, California, on September 22, at the age of eighty-two. A graduate of Amherst, he studied at Berlin and Leipzig in 1881-83. His early ambitions were literary. He was attracted to historical studies by the seminar of Herbert B. Adams at Johns Hopkins and received his doctorate there in 1890, having meanwhile been appointed instructor in history. In 1892 he lived in France and England, making the acquaintance of French and English historians and studying their methods, and in the fall of that year returned to his permanent association with Johns Hopkins. His dominant interests as a scholar were Switzerland, the social history of the later Middle Ages, and the problems of historical method. Adams's seminar in institutional history led to his dissertation, *State and Federal Government of Switzerland* (1891) and his *Government in Switzerland* (1900). Thoroughly at home in Switzerland, he became the leading American authority on its history and in 1909 received the *docteur en droit* from the University of Geneva. His interest in imaginative and concrete reconstructions of social history led him into studies of sumptuary legislation and its enforcement in the Swiss cities. This interest found expression in the work of his students, in various articles, and in the volume *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich, 1370-1800* (1935). As early as 1892 he had laid the keel of a work on historical method, and his well-known manual, *Historical Research*, appeared in 1911 (reprinted, 1929). His lifelong occupation with the subject also found expression in the section on "History and Auxiliary Sciences" in *A Guide to Historical Literature* (1931) and in his *Aids to Historical Research* (1934), as well as in his seminars. His work was distinguished by breadth of outlook and fine craftsmanship and reflected a singularly sincere and unostentatious pursuit of his-

torical knowledge. Recognized abroad by appointments as correspondent or member of learned societies in England, France, Switzerland, and Japan, he served as a member of the Council of the American Historical Association (1912-15). He had a devoted following among his students. In retirement at Pasadena, he devoted himself to writing and to exploring and classifying the Battle Abbey Manuscripts in the Huntington Library. To the surprise of those who knew him best he left an estate estimated at more than a million dollars, of which he made the Johns Hopkins University residuary legatee, expressing his desire that the income be spent for the benefit of its department of history.

Reginald Lane Poole, one of the most distinguished of English medievalists, died on October 28 at the age of eighty-two. Educated at Balliol and Wadham colleges, Oxford, and at the University of Leipzig, where he received the doctorate in 1882, he was appointed lecturer in modern history in Jesus College, Oxford, in 1886. In 1896 he became lecturer in diplomatic. He was a fellow of Magdalen College, a fellow of the British Academy, an honorary fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and a corresponding fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America. His services to historical scholarship were many and varied. Perhaps the most important was his work as assistant editor, joint editor, and finally as sole editor of the *English Historical Review* from its foundation in 1885 to 1920. He was joint editor with William Hunt of the twelve volume *Political History of England*. Mr. Poole made a brief but brilliant excursion into the history of ideas in his *Illustrations of Mediaeval Thought* and an equally successful venture in administrative history in *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*. The rest of his published works were chiefly studies in the critical use of medieval source materials. The most important of his essays on this subject were collected by his son in *Studies in Chronology and History*, which appeared in 1934. Mr. Poole possessed to a high degree the clarity of mind, extensive knowledge, and contagious enthusiasm which one must have to make studies in the mechanics of history readable. His *Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth* is the most useful guide for students who wish an introduction to this type of material and makes a distinguished contribution to English historiography. His essays on medieval chronology have saved the sanity of at least one historian who was lost in its baffling mazes.

William I. Hull, for forty-eight years professor of history at Swarthmore College, died on November 13. Dr. Hull was born in Baltimore, on November 19, 1868, of Quaker stock. He became a student in the Johns Hopkins University as undergraduate and graduate and was among that first group of Ph.D.'s who went forth to play so significant a role in American higher education. He was a master in several fields, and his courses ranged through



economics, political science, and international relations, as well as history. His scholarly career was guided by his interest in the history of the Quakers and in international security. An indefatigable and enthusiastic collector, he built up an important library in the field of Quaker history at Swarthmore. He wrote extensively on the life of William Penn and other subjects in Quaker history and was the author of a number of books and tracts dealing with international relations. Scholarship, however, was but a part of Dr. Hull's interest. In line with the ideals of the Quaker faith, he was a persistent and courageous advocate of peace. In speech, by writing, and in testimony before congressional committees, he sought to promote the cause. His monument is the great Quaker historical collection at Swarthmore College.

Professor Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University, Dr. Alfred Vagts, and Dr. Albert K. Weinberg of the Johns Hopkins University are in residence in the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Dr. Vagts is engaged on a study of the Balance of Power, and Dr. Weinberg is completing a work on the Dogma of Isolation in American History.

Dr. Wilbur K. Jordan, professor of history at Scripps College, will be visiting professor of history at the University of Chicago during the winter quarter.

Dr. John Gilbert Reid, formerly of the University of Oregon, has been appointed by the Department of State as a research associate in international relations. His principal field of interest is the Far East.

Dr. J. O. Van Hook has resigned as head of the history department of the Mississippi Woman's College at Hattiesburg to become assistant professor of history in the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute at Ruston.

Francis J. Bowman of the State College of Washington is visiting associate professor at the University of Southern California.

Professor James B. Hedges has become chairman of the department of history at Brown University.

Dr. Stewart Mitchell resigned as editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society on November 8. He had been appointed to the position in 1929 as successor to Worthington C. Ford, editor-emeritus.